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Proceedings at Boston, May 2d, 1883.

The Society met, as usual, in the Library of the American Academy, at 10 o'clock A. M. In the absence of the President and of all the Vice-Presidents, the chair was taken by the senior Director present, Prof. Peabody of Cambridge, and later by Dr. Ward of New York.

After the settlement of the order of business and reading of minutes of the last meeting, the reports as to the transactions of the year 1882-3 were offered.

The Treasurer's summary of accounts was as follows :

RECEIPTS.						
Balance on hand, May 24th, 1882,	-	-	-	-	-	\$308.25
Annual assessments paid in,	-	-	-	-	\$575.00	
Life Membership,	-	-	-	-	75.00	
Sale of the Journal,	-	-	-	-	132.62	
Interest on deposit in Savings Bank,	-	-	-	-	6.20	
Total receipts of the year,	-	-	-	-	-	788.82
						<u>\$1,097.07</u>
EXPENDITURES.						
Printing of Proceedings,	-	-	-	-	\$91.60	
Expenses of Library and Correspondence,	-	-	-	-	21.00	
Total expenditures of the year,	-	-	-	-	-	112.60
Balance on hand, May 2d, 1883,	-	-	-	-	-	984.47
						<u>\$1,097.07</u>

The amount of the Bradley type-fund is now \$918.44.

The Librarian reported the accessions to the Library to amount to 30 whole volumes, 91 parts of volumes, and 40 pamphlets. Five volumes of Pāli MSS. were donated by Rev. S. C. George. The present number of titles is, of printed books, 4216; of manuscripts, 151.

The Committee of Publication announced that the second half of Vol. xi. of the Journal was not yet in the hands of the printer; they hoped to be able to report something more definite in regard to its prospects at the next meeting.

The Directors gave notice that they had appointed the autumn meeting to be held this year in New Haven, and on October 24th, unless the Committee of Arrangements (the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer) should see good reason, as the time approached, for changing the day. Further, they had reappointed the Committee of Publication of last year. For election to membership

of the Society, they proposed and recommended the following persons:

As Honorary Member—

Prof. A. F. Stenzler, of Breslau.

As Corporate Members—

Miss Eva Channing, of Jamaica Plain, Mass. ;
 Prof. S. F. Dike, of Bath, Me. ;
 Prof. L. H. Elwell, of Amherst, Mass. ;
 Mr. A. L. Frothingham, Jr., of Baltimore, Md. ;
 Mr. R. L. Goodrich, of Little Rock, Ark. ;
 Prof. T. B. Lindsay, of Boston ;
 Prof. A. B. Nicholson, of Kingston, Ont. ;
 Mr. E. P. Vining, of Omaha, Neb.

The persons thus nominated were balloted for, and declared duly elected.

The choice of officers for the ensuing year being next in order, a Nominating Committee of three, appointed by the chairman, proposed the reelection of the officers of last year, without exception, and their proposal was ratified by the meeting.*

The chairman, Prof. Peabody, read the list of members deceased during the year, and called upon the members present to pay a tribute of respect to their memory. The names communicated were,
 the Honorary Member,

Mr. Arthur C. Burnell, of England ;

of Corresponding Members,

Prof. C. A. Holmboe, of Christiania, Norway ;
 Rev. W. G. Schauffler, of New York ;

of Corporate Members,

Mr. G. A. Perdicaris, of Trenton, N. J. ;
 Dr. T. T. Van der Hoeven, of San Antonio, Tex.

In response, the Corresponding Secretary and others gave some account of the character and works of each of the persons named. The great and painful loss, the severest of the year, sustained by Oriental studies in the untimely death of Dr. Burnell, cut off last October in the flower of his age, was especially dwelt upon, and his great services were briefly set forth. Mr. Dickerman described a visit made by him to the aged missionary, Dr. Schauffler, some years ago, at his home near Constantinople, and dwelt at some length upon his life. A German by birth and a musical-instrument maker by original profession, he had early entered the American mission

* For convenience, the names are repeated here: *President*, Prof. S. Wells Williams of New Haven; *Vice-Presidents*, Dr. N. G. Clark of Boston, Dr. Peter Parker of Washington, Pres. T. D. Woolsey of New Haven; *Recording Secretary*, Prof. C. H. Toy of Cambridge; *Corresp. Secretary*, Prof. W. D. Whitney of New Haven; *Secretary of the Classical Section*, Prof. W. W. Goodwin of Cambridge; *Treasurer and Librarian*, Mr. A. Van Name of New Haven; *Directors*, Mr. A. I. Cothéal, Prof. C. Short, and Dr. W. H. Ward, of New York; Profs. C. R. Lanman, A. P. Peabody, and J. H. Thayer, of Cambridge; and Prof. I. H. Hall of Philadelphia.

service, and done notable work, as preacher and as translator of the Bible into Turkish. He had a remarkable mastery of many languages. Mr. Perdicaris was a man of Greek birth and education, who, after fleeing to this country from oppression at home, held for a time a professorship in Harvard College, but afterwards engaged in extensive business enterprises in the Southern States, and for many years past resided at Trenton, N. J. He died at Tangiers in Africa. Dr. Van der Hoeven was a Netherlander, educated at home as a physician, but long a resident in this country, at San Antonio in Texas, to which place he resorted on account of feeble health. He did not practice his profession, but gave himself to study, for the gratification of his literary tastes, and in order to assist in the education of his family. He was a man of wide and thorough learning and accomplishments, and of rare enterprise. He took up some years ago, at an already advanced age, the study of Sanskrit, on account of its value as an aid to his other linguistic studies, and made himself a well-read scholar. His interest in this language brought him into relations to the Society, with whose Corresponding Secretary he maintained for some years a remarkable intercourse by letter. He is not known to have left any memorials of his scholarship.

The correspondence of the half-year was presented, and some parts of it were read.

Mr. W. W. Rockhill writes from Montreux in Switzerland, enclosing a rubbing of a coin with a Neu-chih inscription, from China. Although the character is at present undeciphered, every document containing it is of value as a contribution to its possible interpretation. Referring to a translation from Tibetan of the *Uḍānavarga*, recently published by him as one of Trübner's Oriental Series, he says:

"If I am able to call the attention of students to this rich field of Buddhist learning, I have attained one of the objects I had in view in translating this work. Students of Buddhism have been too prone to search for their materials exclusively in Pāli records; whereas I consider it beyond doubt that nearly every one of the southern texts may be found in the Tibetan or Chinese canons."

He sends further a paper on two Sūtras, for presentation at this meeting (see below).

Dr. G. L. Ditson writes from Paris Oct. 31st, 1882:

"It affords me pleasure to state that the Abbé Gruel has started here an Oriental Society, called the *Institut Oriental*. He has had donated to him in the south a large estate, where he is to receive and educate persons from the Orient who shall come to learn something of our arts, sciences, religions, etc., 'respecting the religious belief of every one,' as is stated in his circular. He has also received many other contributions. He is highly recommended by many eminent persons, and has letters of approval from the patriarch of Cilicia, the minister resident at Tunis, the ex-Khedive of Egypt, and others. His address is 33 rue de Sèvres."

Dr. Ditson solicits contributions of any works or objects likely to be of value in the collections of such an institution, and is confident that the Society, and its members individually, will take an interest in the enterprise.

The following communications were presented at the meeting:

1. On the Greek Inscription found by Dr. S. Merrill at Gerash, by Prof. T. O. Paine, of Elmwood, Mass.

Prof. Paine exhibited his fac-simile of this inscription (published by Prof. F. D. Allen in Gildersleeve's *American Journal of Philology*, iii. 206-7), and detailed the history of its decipherment. It had been for the first time made out nearly in its entirety, and the general sense gathered, by himself, Dr. Merrill having made over to him his whole material for it during some weeks; he had read all but 18 out of its 267 letters. His fac-simile was placed in the hands of Pres. Woolsey, who recognized at once the character of the inscription as in elegiac couplets, and made certain further restorations; others were added by Prof. Packard. The papers were then passed over to Prof. Allen, who made further amendments, and published the result, with the fac-simile. Prof. Paine disagreed with the last-mentioned scholar in regard to sundry points, as follows. There is no need of bracketing the *v* of *οὐτος* in line 1, the *Y* having been clearly legible in March, 1881, in the squeeze. The stone-cutter omitted the cross-line of an *A* in each of ll. 7, 10, 15, and that of an *E* in l. 11; two of these Prof. Allen has inserted. The *P* does not have its hook closed in the inscription, but is always open below. The final *A* of *ἀμα*, at the end of line 9, is legible. At the end of l. 10 is to be read not *Γεράσης*, but rather *ιεράς*; the stone has ΕΕΡΑΙ; and there is no trace of following ΗC, either in the squeeze or the field-copy, nor any room for those letters, even in an abbreviated form or reduced size; the letterer cut the related *ε* instead of *ι* in *ιε*. Besides, it is highly improbable that the poet would say "but she gained a portion of the land of Gerash Antioch"—as if we should say "she was buried in the land of Shawmut Boston." The name Gerash, then, is not mentioned in the inscription. Also *μν*, for *μην*, in l. 12, is wrong. Prof. Allen throws doubt on the *H* by dotting its cross bar; but this was clearly seen on the stone by Dr. Merrill, and in the squeeze by Dr. Paine; and the spacing is also different from what an *ι* would require.

Dr. Paine pointed out the parallelisms between the two halves of the inscription. He also traced the difficulties of the letterer, who began with characters upon too large a scale, 1.7 inches long, but reduced them gradually; and from l. 9 onward made them only 1.26 inches. The first four lines average only 13 letters to the line, the next four average 16½, the next two 19, and the next has 20. In the first four lines, he lost three opportunities of joining letters, making one stroke count as part of two letters; he did not mean to lose another; and he in fact let slip only one, in l. 12. The whole inscription, measured from the squeeze, is 33 by 12.7 inches.

2. On the Site of Pithom (Exodus i. 11), by Rev. L. Dickerman, of Boston.

Pithom means 'the abode of Tum,' the god of the setting sun, as Ra was of the rising. It was the name of one of the temple-cities, or store-cities, built by the Hebrews for Pharaoh. "They built treasure-cities . . . Pithom and Ramses" (Exodus i. 11); the Coptic version adds On, i. e. Heliopolis. All agree that these cities were in the land of Goshen, on the Delta, east of the Tanitic branch of the Nile. The design of the paper is to give a review of opinions as to the site of Pithom.

Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 7) says that Joseph met Jacob at Heliopolis. But the Hebrew text says, in Goshen (Genesis xli. 28). The LXX. translate: 'And Judah he sent in advance to Joseph, in order that he might meet him in the city of Her., in the land of Ramses.' The Coptic version substitutes Pithom for the city of Hero. Even granting the identity of Pithom and Heroöpolis, which perhaps the Coptic scholars assumed, the site of each is still an open question. On the authority of different interpretations of Herodotus ii. 158, Cary and Wilkinson place Patumos, possibly the ancient Pithom, near Bubastis, at the west end of the canal, Stein places it somewhere on the line of the canal, and Wesseling at its entrance into the Red Sea—a difference of 37 m. p. The itinerary of Antoninus appears to agree with Wesseling. Did then the authors of the Coptic version detect the blunder of the LXX., read Herodotus as Wesseling does, regard the Patumos of Herodotus, the Thoum of Antoninus, and the Pithom of Ex. i. 11 as identical, and all at Lake

Timseh on the extreme eastern boundary of Egypt, whither Joseph would naturally go to meet his father? It would seem so. But this identity is not proved, and modern scholars have been much at variance in regard to it.

Chabas (*Mélanges Égyptol.*, iii. 154) identified Pithom with Tel-el-Maskhuta, about 6 m. west of Ismailia, in the valley of Wady Tumeilat, and near or on the fresh-water canal of Ramses; but afterwards ("Academy," Apl. 24, 1880) gave up this opinion in favor of that of Brugsch, fixing the locality 30 m. further north. He also suggested the identity of Pithom and the Etham of Ex. xiii. 20.

The views of Richter, endorsed by Unruh and Schleiden, have been since advocated by Brugsch with profound erudition and admirable freedom from prejudice. Brugsch finds on both sides of the Tanitic branch a region called in the Egyptian texts the Sethroitic nome. Pithom, identical with Heracleopolis Parva, as proved by the texts, was the chief city of the nome. He puts it at the centre of the nome, 22 miles east of Zoan-Tanis. The latter great city itself, whence Thothmes III. set out to invade Canaan, and into which Ramses II. made his triumphal entry, was, according to the same scholar, no other than the Ramses of Ex. i. 11, and the point of departure of the Hebrews in their exodus (Num. xxxiii. 5). Brugsch's arguments in support of this opinion were given in brief summary, also the opinions of Hengstenberg, Ewald, and the scholars accompanying the French Expedition. After all, in a note in the second edition of his "Egypt under the Pharaohs" (ii. 422), Brugsch admits that he has some doubts as to the site of Pithom.

In the "Academy" for Apr. 24th, 1880, Miss Amelia B. Edwards has a carefully prepared article, in which it is argued that the Ramses and Pithom of Ex. i. 11, necessarily near each other, were both situated in the Wady Tumeilat, at Tel-el-Maskhuta. The principal evidence given for this theory is that derived from her interpretation of the Anastasi papyrus III., of the British Museum. In this papyrus, Panbesa speaks of a Pa-Rameses, as a port at which ships discharged many kinds of rare delicacies, including fish from the Puharta (i. e. Euphrates), and shows it to have been in the vicinity of various lakes, one of which "furnished nitre." It was also adjacent to the Shet Hor, or sacred pool of Horus—a body of water which is also mentioned in an inscription at Karnak. The Karnak text speaks of a canal at the north of this lake. It is claimed by Miss Edwards: 1st, that it cannot be true that ships could bring fish to Zoan-Tanis-Ramses from the Euphrates; 2d, that no lake "furnishing nitre" can be found in that locality; 3d, that the sacred pool of Horus is not there; and 4th, that no canal ever ran north of it in the field of Zoan; but that, on the other hand, all these conditions are fulfilled in the valley of Tumeilat, at Tel-el-Maskhuta. The canal begun by Seti I., and completed by Ramses II., did run north of Shet Hor to the Bitter Lakes, where nitre was found, and thence to Suez; so communicating with the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the mouths of the Euphrates. Hence Ramses, and therefore Pithom too, were not on Lake Menzaleh, but in the valley of Tumeilat. She also suggests that the whole valley of Tumeilat was sacred to Tum, and that possibly its modern name is a commemoration of that fact—not an improbable suggestion.

Just at this point in the search for the ancient Pithom, a new Society is formed in London, called the Egypt Exploration Fund, with Reginald Stuart Poole as Honorary Secretary, Miss Edwards as his assistant, and Edouard Naville of Geneva, who has distinguished himself by scholarly investigations in Egyptology, as the explorer. Certainly no better names than these could be found. Under the direction of M. Naville, excavations were begun at Tel-el-Maskhuta in February last. On the 13th he writes to Mr. Poole: "Tel-el-Maskhuta *is* the Pithom of Ex. i. 11. I thought so before; now I know it." A week later he writes: "It was only a poor fragment of a limestone statue that definitely settled the question." Now this poor but wonderful fragment of limestone is the statue of a priest, bearing the following inscription: "The chief of the store-house of the temple of Tum of Theku (or Thuku)." This Thuku, it is claimed, is Succoth; for Dr. Brugsch says that $\theta = s$. So that the discovery, it is claimed, not only discloses the site of Pithom, but that of Succoth, the first camping place of the Israelites in their flight from Egypt. Therefore Ramses, from which they started (see Ex. xii. 37; Num. xxxv. 5), must be found not more than a day's march from there, north or west. Moreover M. Naville has found at the mound a Roman milliarium, which indicates

the distance from Clysma to Ero (presumably the Hero of the Itinerary of Antoninus, and the more modern Heroöpolis) as 68 m. p., just as Antoninus says. Therefore Pithom and Heroöpolis are one. Thus M. Naville is supported perhaps by the blunder of the Septuagint as compared with the Coptic version, certainly by D'Anville and Larcher of the French Expedition, by Hengstenberg and Ewald, and by the Wesseling translation of Herodotus. This is no mean support. Lepsius says this is not Pithom but Ramses (Herzog, Encyc. s. v. *Aegyptien*).

Mr. Poole, delighted at this discovery, abandons the theory which he elaborately set forth so recently as the beginning of this year, in his "Cities of Egypt," article "Zoan;" and Ebers, Pierret, and Maspero hasten to accept likewise the conclusions of M. Naville. Yet several questions force themselves on our consideration:

1. Where, within a single day's march from Tel-el-Maskhuta, north or west, or in any other direction, are we to look for the great city of Ramses, from which the Hebrews commenced their exodus? If they started from where the greatest number dwelt, as would seem most natural, such was the city of Zoan-Tanis, with its immense and magnificent ruins. This city was called Ramses. Where are the ruins indicating the existence of another city of the same name, within 15 miles of the newly-discovered Pithom-Succoth? 2. The Hebrews went into the desert laden with spoil which they had borrowed from their neighbors. This would be possible, if they started from such a wealthy city as Zoan-Ramses. Where was the city in the valley of Tumeilat in which it was possible to borrow gold enough to make a molten calf? 3. If the buildings at Tel-el-Maskhuta were erected by Hebrews, how happens it that the bricks there, still bearing the cartouche of Ramses II., are wholly without straw, as fully testified by Dr. Schweinfurth? For the Hebrews were obliged to put straw in their bricks (Ex. v. 7-12). 4. Why has neither Antoninus nor Strabo nor any other traveler found in this valley a city called Ramses, or a city called Succoth, while now the locality is fixed only by a poor fragment of a limestone priest? 5. Many scholars, down to the most recent times, have doubted whether Succoth, 'a place of tents,' was the name of any definite locality. We are now told that it means a real place, where much grain of the valley was stored and guarded, with a fort and soldiers. Was it not a strange place for the flying Hebrews to spend their first night in, under the missiles of a hostile garrison? 6. According to Strabo, the Sethroite nome, of which Pithom is the admitted capital, was along one of the two lakes on the left of the great stream above Pelusium (Bohn's ed. of Strabo, iii. 243). Did Strabo know where this nome was? 7. If Ramses and Pithom were in the valley of Tumeilat, the sufferings of the Hebrews, and the wonders performed in their behalf, were there. But Psalm lxxviii. 12, 43 says the wonders were performed "in the field of Zoan." Did the Psalmist know? 8. Granting that the fragment of a limestone statue belonged to a priest of Tum, and that his Pithom temple was Succoth, how does that prove that the place where it was found was Pithom-Succoth, that the priest never lived anywhere but here, or that his statue had never been carried from one place to another? The obelisk in New York has been twice removed.

Mr. Dickerman pointed out in conclusion that his paper was not written in the interests of any theory as to the route of the exodus. But the facts seem to leave us a reasonable doubt whether the site of Pithom has yet been discovered.

3. On the Japanese Nigori of Composition, by Mr. B. S. Lyman, of Northampton, Mass.

The most common phonetic change found in Japanese, Mr. Lyman said, is that of the *nigori* at the beginning of the second part of compound words: that is, the change of the initial from surd to sonant. The word *nigori* means 'turbid,' the Japanese regarding a sonant as merely a modification of the corresponding surd. They even hold that all the sonants in the language are derived from surds; and there are circumstances which give a certain support to this view. The change of *nigori* is not merely euphonic and to be made or not at will, but has to do with the meaning also, and is obligatory.

The rule is, that the second part of a compound takes the *nigori*: i. e. its initial, if *ch*, *f*, *h*, *k*, *s*, *sh*, or *t*, is changed to the corresponding sonant. But the rule does

not apply, 1. when *b, d, g, j, p,* or *z* already occurs anywhere in the second part of the compound; 2. when the second part is a Chinese word; or 3. when the word (though given by Hepburn as a compound) is really made up of words in regular grammatical construction, without ellipsis—such as juxtaposed verbal forms, Chinese words followed by verbal forms denoting doing or action (*shi, suru,* and the like), or words connected by *no* or followed by *to* or *te* or any of the syllables used as terminations of verbal forms; and 4. there are 1002 other cases where the *nigori* is not taken, against over 2200 where it is taken (one in three). Full lists of the words had in view in these rules and exceptions were presented with the paper; they are based on a review of all the words in Hepburn's dictionary, and some hundreds more, or about 23,000 words in all.

If the complete lists of compounds with the *nigori* and without it be carefully examined, it will be found that the change is not made when the first part indicates source or cause, possession, superiority, or pervasion or inclusion of the second part—in short, domination over it as a subordinate thing; and these are the qualities possessed in English by a substantive following the word *of*, as compared with one that precedes. But when those qualities are rather possessed by the second part of the compound, of which the first part indicates a subordinate or partial or occasional characteristic, the *nigori* is taken.

It is clear that the *nigori* arises from the disappearance of a sonant consonant—almost always an *n*, and generally the word *no*, 'of,' but sometimes *ni*, 'in, to,' sometimes the negative *na*, and sometimes other sonants or syllables, as *de*, 'at' or 'with.' It can be hence understood why the sound *n* is so often heard in Japanese before a dental *nigori*, and *m* before a labial one, and still oftener *ng* instead of simple *g*. The significance of such sounds is a strong argument for specially marking them in any system of transliteration: for writing, say, *Nangasaki*, in the time-honored European way, instead of *Nagasaki*.

The rule of *nigori* in composition helps much toward tracing the derivation and meaning of many Japanese words. For example, *nigori* itself, apparently from *ni-ru*, 'resembling,' and *kuro*, 'black;' *hidari*, 'left hand,' is *hi no de ari*, 'direction of the sunrise,' as *migi* (in the country often *migiri*), 'right,' is *mi no kiri*, 'the direction of the cutting off of sight.' It is interesting to see that these words of direction come from the ordinary and favorite southern outlook of houses in that climate.

Mr. Lyman closed with calling attention to the general interest and importance of grammatical investigations of this kind, which are too much neglected, because scholars are so much taken up with translation and interpretation.

4. Remarks on the Oriental Genius, by Rev. J. W. Jenks, of Newtonville, Mass.

Restricting the term "Orientals" to the people of the western half of Asia, their prominent traits were considered, and the following conclusions were arrived at, and confirmed by various evidences: 1. Their traits are those of youth and immaturity. 2. Hence the religion suited to them must be elementary and chiefly preceptive; and their government must be arbitrary. 3. Hence Islam and the Koran are better for them than Christianity and the gospel of freedom; and the example of Christian life is the only way of reaching them and doing them good. 4. As the Koran is derived from the two Testaments, Moslems should be considered as a sect of elementary Christians, unitarians, early "protestants" against three-Godism and the idolatries both of the Christian church and of heathendom, from which they have kept Western Asia in great measure free now for a thousand years. 5. Mohammed professed to and actually did restore the religion of Abraham, the "Syrian nomad" (Deut.)—i. e. a nomadistic religion. 6. For nomadism has always been and still is the pervading characteristic of Moslem countries. 7. The character of nomadism then came under inquiry; and the definition of this "wild-ass man" of Gen. xvi. 12 was adopted from a theologian of the last century. 8. If, therefore, we have ourselves arrived at a more advanced stage of civilization—say humanity's age of adolescence—we should not as Christian nations croak around the supposed carcass of Islam, waiting for our share of the carrion, but should generously acknowledge fellowship with what is good in the Orientals—should treat them as an older brother treats a younger in a lower stage of education.

5. On the Jāiminiya- or Talavakāra-Brāhmaṇa, by Prof. W. D. Whitney, of New Haven.

During the past year and a half, I have spent no small share of my time upon the Jāiminiya-Brāhmaṇa, and I desire to take this opportunity to give some account of my dealings with it.

It was soon after the lamented Burnell first announced his discovery and acquisition of this important text that, in 1879, I wrote him, begging to have made for me a copy of it, that I might excerpt and use what grammatical material of value it should be found to contain, for the benefit of a possible second edition of my Sanskrit grammar; and I pledged myself not to use it for any other purpose without his express permission. With his usual kindness, he at once promised to have the desired copy made, in *devanāgarī* characters. Soon after, however, as all students of India know, his health broke down, and he was obliged to return to Europe, first temporarily, and then forever. When it was settled that he could not go back, he wrote me that he had not been able to arrange for making the promised copy, but would send me instead his own Grantham texts; and they in due time came into my hands, toward the end of 1881. There was a continuous text of the whole Brāhmaṇa proper, a copy of the Upanishad-Brāhmaṇa with the variants of a second MS., and then a second copy of perhaps a quarter of the Brāhmaṇa text, with the collation of yet another MS. of the first third of this quarter. Never having learned the Grantham character, being unwilling to risk the valuable MSS. again across the ocean untranscribed, and also desirous to retain the text within reach of American scholars, I concluded to make for myself a transliterated copy, which should go finally into the library of the Oriental Society; and that has been accomplished, with the kind and liberal aid of several other members of the Society, who took off my hands about half the task of copying, and to whom mine and the Society's thanks are due for the service—they are Messrs. Avery, Hopkins, Bloomfield, and Perry; (Miss Channing also wrote off a comment by Çankara on the Kena-Upanishad, found at the end of one of the volumes). I, finally, added the collation of the second and third texts of the part of the Brāhmaṇa above specified.

In acknowledging the receipt of the MSS., I had renewed my promise to Burnell to make no use of the material belonging to him save such as should be specifically authorized by him. He did not, however, in his answer to this, any more than to my previous letter, make any reference to this pledge, or express acceptance of it; and from a notice which he sent to the London "Academy" (of Dec. 31, 1881, No. 504, p. 496), to the effect that the MSS. had safely reached my hands, and that I, "he hopes, will be able to extract something of value from it," I infer that he rather regarded himself as having turned over the whole matter to me, to use as I should please. But this I did not feel at liberty to assume; and I wrote him again last summer to ask whether he would allow also the lexical material to be excerpted for the new Petersburg lexicon; and he had not yet answered me at the time of his death.

I give these details, because the statement has been repeatedly made (even in the last Secretary's report to the Asiatic Society at London), that I was going to edit the text of the Brāhmaṇa. Even if I had not my hands already entirely full for some years to come, or felt otherwise prepared for undertaking such a task, the material for a text is as yet quite insufficient, except possibly for some part of the first book. The manuscripts are all quite incorrect, full of false readings of every kind and degree, and of *lacunæ*. longer or shorter; it would hardly be worth any one's while even to try to patch up a conjecturally amended text, until time and search should have shown that absolutely no new MSS. were to be found in India. I have never planned to do more myself than extract the grammatical material; but, being desirous to have whatever is valuable in other ways also as soon as possible worked up, I have, after failing to find in this country any scholar with leisure and disposition to undertake the task, proposed to pass the transliterated copy for the present over to Professor Weber at Berlin, as of all living scholars the one best qualified to deal with it; and a part of it is already in his hands. A very brief general characterization, therefore, is all that will be attempted here.

The Jāiminiya is on the whole a dull and uninteresting work, as compared

with the others of its class. A most unreasonable share of its immense mass is taken up with telling on what occasion some being "saw" a particular *sāman*, and "praised with it," thereby attaining certain desired ends, which may be attained by others that will follow his example; and the *pseudo*-legends thus reported or fabricated average of a degree of flatness and artificiality quite below the ordinary. Of course, there are extensive passages of a different character; and also some of the stock legendary material of the Brāhmaṇa period appears here in a new setting, or a different version, or both. Decidedly the most interesting case of the latter kind, so far as I have observed, is the passage which, with a true insight, Burnell himself selected and published in 1878 as a specimen of his new Brāhmaṇa.* By way of further specimen, and contribution to the same important end, the comparison of the varying versions of common material found in the Brāhmaṇas, I give here another extract, containing a story already well known from the Ṣaṭapatha;† it fills several sections of the third and last of the principal divisions of the Brāhmaṇa proper.

"120. To these the *cyavana*. Cyavana the Bhārgavan knew the *vāstupaṣya* (MS. *vastup*, *vāstup*, *vāstupasya*) *brāhmaṇa*. He said to his sons: 'I know the *vāstupaṣya brāhmaṇa*; put me down, then, in the *vāstu*, and go forth with thrice repeated departure (? *trih punah prayānam*).' They said: 'We shall not be able; we shall be cried out against (*ākroṣanavantas*); men will say of us "they have deserted their father."' 'Not so,' said he; 'you on your part will be the gainers by it, and I by this means have hopes of becoming young again; just leave me and go forth.' Thus he gave them to understand. They put him down at the *pāṇḍava* of the Sarasvatī, and went forth with thrice renewed departure. He, deserted (?) in the *vāstu*, wished: 'May I be young again; may I win a girl for wife; may I sacrifice with a thousand.' He saw this *sāman*; he praised with it.

"121. When he had praised, Čaryāta the Mānavan, with his clan, settled down by (*adhyavāsyat*) him. The young cow-herds smeared him with dirt, with balls of dung whited with ashes (*āsapāṇḍu*). He wrought discord for the Čaryātans; then neither did mother know son, nor son mother. Čaryāta the Mānavan said: 'Have ye seen anything here about, on account of which this has become thus?' They said to him: 'Surely there lies below here this used-up (*nisthāva*) old man; him the young cow-herds and shepherds to-day have been smearing (*adhikṣus*) with dirt, with balls of dung whited with ashes; hence this has become thus.'

"122. He said: 'That verily was (*abhūt*, 'has been') Cyavana the Bhārgavan; he knows the *vāstupaṣya brāhmaṇa*; him, now, his sons have left in the *vāstu* and have gone forth.' Running up to him, he said: 'Sage! homage to thee! have mercy, sir, on the Čaryātans.' Now there was a beautiful daughter of Čaryāta, Sukanyā. He said: 'Do you give me Sukanyā.' 'Not so,' said he; 'name some other treasure.' 'Not so,' said he; 'surely I know the *vāstupaṣya brāhmaṇa*; put her down here by me, and then go (*yātāt*) with your clan this very day at evening.' They [said]: 'How shall we answer thee without taking counsel?' They took counsel, and said: 'Surely, one, two, three treasures we should be willing to gain at cost of her; and now we shall gain just everything by her; come, let us give her to him.' They gave her to him. They said to her: 'Girl, this is a worn-out old man, not equal to pursuing; when, now, we shall yoke up, then do you run (*dhāvātāt*) after.' So she rose up to follow after the clan when it had yoked up. He said: 'O serpent, circumvent her deserting [her] living friend.' As she goes (?)—

"123. A black snake rose up against her. She, noting this, sat down. Now the two Aṅvins, spoon-sacrificers (*darvihomin*), were going about there performing cures, not sharers in the *soma* (*anapīsomāu*). They came up to her and said: 'This is an old man, not whole, not fit for the office of husband (*patitvanāya*); be our wife.' 'Not so,' she said; 'to whom my father has given me, his wife will I be.' This he listened to. Then they went forth. He said: 'Girl, what was that noise just now?' 'Two men came up to me here, with a form that is the

* A Legend from the Talavakāra or Jāiminiya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-Veda, by A. C. Burnell. Mangalore, 1878; pp. 40, 24mo. Also included in the Acts of the International Oriental Congress at Florence, Vol. ii., pp. 97-111.

† See Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, v. 250; Weber's *Indische Streifen*, i. 13.

most beautiful of forms.' 'What did they say to you?' 'Girl, this is an old man, not whole, not fit for the office of husband; be our wife.' 'What did you say?' 'Not so, I said; to whom my father has given me, his wife will I be.'

"124. That, now, was pleasant to him; he said: 'Those were the two Aṅvins, spoon-sacrificers, that go about here performing cures, not sharers in the *soma*. They will come to-morrow and say the same thing to you; do you then say (*brūtāt*) to them: "You verily are not whole, who, being gods, are not *soma*-drinkers (*asomapāu*); whole in sooth is my husband, who is a *soma*-drinker." They will say to you: "Who is competent to this, that we be sharers in the *soma* (*apisomāu*)?" And do you say (*brūtāt*): "My husband here." By this means there is hope of my becoming young again.' They came to her on the morrow, and said the same thing. She said: 'You verily are not whole, who, being gods, are not *soma*-drinkers; whole in sooth is my husband, who is a *soma*-drinker.' They said: 'Who is competent to this, that we be sharers in the *soma*?' 'My husband here,' said she.

"125. They said to him: 'Sage, make us sharers in the *soma*, sir.' 'Very well,' said he; 'do you now make me young again.' They drew him away to the *çāpava* of the Sarasvatī. He said: 'Girl, we shall all come out looking alike; do you then know (*jānītāt*) me by this sign.' They all came out looking just alike, with that form which is the most beautiful of forms. She, recognizing him . . . 'This is my husband.' They said to him: 'Sage, we have performed for you that desire which has been your desire; you have become young again; now instruct us in such wise that we may be sharers in the *soma*.'

"126. He said: 'The gods here are engaged in sacrificing in Kurukshetra with a victim-sacrifice (? *puçṣṣṣyāyajñena*); they do not obtain that desire which is the desire at the sacrifice; the head of the sacrifice was cut off; so then what Dadhyañc the Atharvana saw, that do you supply; he will teach it to you; then you will become sharers in the *soma*.' That head of the sacrifice that was cut off is yonder sun; he in sooth is the *pravargya*. So they came to Dadhyañc the Atharvana; they said to him: 'Sage, we would have recourse to thee.' 'For what desire?' 'We would learn about the head of the sacrifice.' 'Not so,' said he; 'Indra likewise saw that; he said to me: "If you were to tell this to any one else, I should cut off your head;" that is what I am afraid of.' 'Then do you teach us with this head of a horse.' 'Very well,' said he; 'let me now see you talking together.' They then laid off his head, put on instead the head of a horse, and sat talking together, singing *sāman*, uttering *ṛc* and *yajus*. So he put confidence in them, and taught them with that horse's head.

"127. This Indra became aware of: 'He has told it to them,' said he; and running up, he cut off his head, that horse's head. Then what was his own head, that they skilfully (*manīṣināu*) put on instead. They came to the gods, who were sacrificing with a headless sacrifice. They said to them: 'Ye sit sacrificing with a headless sacrifice; hence ye do not obtain that desire which is the desire at the sacrifice.' 'Who knows that head of the sacrifice?' 'We do.' 'Put it on in its place.' 'Then draw a draught for us.' They drew for them that Aṅvins' draught. They said to them: 'Ye two verily are officiating priests; ye, who understand it, shall set on in its place that head of the sacrifice.' 'Very well.' They were officiating priests. Thus they became sharers in the *soma*.

"128. Then Cyavana the Bhārgavan, having become young again, went to Çaryāta the Mānavan, and conducted his sacrifice on the eastern site (*prāçyām sthalyām*). Then he gave him a thousand; with them he sacrificed. Thus Cyavana the Bhārgavan, having praised with this *sāman*, became young again, won a girl for wife, sacrificed with a thousand. Those were the desires at that *sāman*; just those desires he attained. With just what desire one praises with this *sāman*, that desire is fulfilled for him. With that same *sāman* Cyavana the Bhārgavan used to draw up out of the *çāpava* of the Sarasvatī whatever food he desired. That is a food-attaining *sāman*. He attains food-eating, he becomes the best food-eater of his kindred, who knows this. And since Cyavana the Bhārgavan saw it, therefore it is called *cyāvana*. . . ."

Whatever may be thought respecting the extract already published by Burnell (and in regard to it opinions will doubtless differ), it will hardly be denied that this story wears a less original aspect than the corresponding one (or ones) in the other Brāhmaṇa. We cannot, however, be too cautious about expressing sweep-

ing opinions as to the comparative age of the various Brāhmaṇas and their relation to one another, while they are so imperfectly worked up as at present. Their pervading accordance, in language, style, and contents, is the most striking fact about them; they evidently come in the main out of one period, and their differences appear to be of minor consequence. Even from such grammatical indications as that the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa uses *āvām* as nominative, makes a periphrastic perfect with *āsa* (known elsewhere only in the Gopatha, and occurring but once even in the older Upanishads), and has such forms as *hvaṃyita* and *kāmayita* (common enough in the Sūtras, but among Brāhmaṇas paralleled only by *kalpayita* in the *Kāushitaki*), we should doubtless be over-hasty in concluding that the Aitareya is a more recent compilation than the rest.

In point of language, the Jāiminiya stands fully upon the general plane of the Brāhmaṇas, offering no signs either of special antiquity or of more modern date. Thus, to specify a few points: it invariably (and not very rarely) uses as nominatives *āvam* and *yuvam*; it makes its periphrastic perfects with *kr* only (a new case is *apucāyām cakrus* 'reverenced;,' and *iyakṣām cakre* occurs three times, in the sense of *īje*; the text has no examples of aorists of this formation); it has no optatives like *kāmayita* (still less any participles like *kāmayāna*, which seem to be absolutely wanting until the epic period); it uses the aorist strictly to express time just past (and hardly offers an instance of what Delbrück calls the *zeitlos* use, or equivalence with a present); its infinitives are in their variety and proportional frequency like those of the Ṣatapatha and Aitareya; it employs the subjunctive with freedom (although its variety of forms is decidedly less rich than that of the Ṣatapatha); its imperative in *tīt* has as regularly a future sense as in other Brāhmaṇas (some of the best examples are those in the extract given above); it has such 3d sing. pres. middle forms as *duhe*, *īce*, *ṣaye* (which Aufrecht, Ait. Brāh. p. 429, incautiously pronounces "imitations of Vedic forms," though no Brāhmaṇa is found without them); its gen.-abl. sing. fem. is in *āi* instead of *ās*: and so on. Its unusually frequent omission of the augment is probably to be regarded as due to the inaccuracy of the manuscripts; they vary greatly in regard to it.

Of new and interesting grammatical material, the immense text is decidedly barren, more so than any of the other Brāhmaṇas except perhaps the Kāushitaki. But the mass of literature from this period already at command was so considerable, that not much that is novel was reasonably to be hoped for. The text is so faulty that some things are doubtless hidden which further collation or deeper study may bring to light. A very few new aorists appear: as *amīsat*, *amrucat* (doubtful), *alūbhat*, *amīmarat* (not noted before in the older language), *āpsit*, *asvāris*. Precative forms are made from only half-a-dozen roots. As usual, the *s*-aorist is most frequent, being made from over thirty roots (the *is*-aorist, from about half as many); of the *sa*-aorist, only two or three scattering forms appear (the mongrel *adhīksus*, in the extract given above). Desiderative stems are nearly three times as numerous as intensive; of special interest in the two classes are *tistīrsa*, *jigāsa* (*gā* 'sing'), *dhīpsa* (besides *dīpsa*), *veviṣya*, *tātrasya*, which are new: and *cichītsa*, *vivadiṣa*, *lelīh*, *nāmadya*, which I have not hitherto found of Brāhmaṇa age.

A new root, *gūrda*, seems to make its appearance at iii. 171, in accounting for the name *gūrda* given to a *sāman*. We are told that when the gods and Asuras contended about food (*annādya*), and the gods got possession of the Asuras' food, there was left to the Asuras a great food named *gūrda*, which the gods coveted. Accordingly (as nearly everywhere through the Brāhmaṇa), 'they saw this *sāman* and praised with it; and thereby they won the *gūrda* food of the Asuras;' and then: *tasmīn agūrdan* ('rejoiced, made merry?'); *yad agūrdāns tad gūrdasya gūrdatvam*. In another passage (iii. 92), *śsadh* is apparently a variant or an error for *śsadh* (which the grammarians give as of the *nu*-class, although no *nu*-forms have heretofore been found): thus, *indro vāi simā nā 'sadhnōt*; so *'kāmayata*: *simā sadhnuyām iti*; *sa etat simā 'paṣyat*; *tenā 'stuta*; *tato vāi sa simā asadhnōt*; *tad yad etat sāma bhavati, simānām eva saddhīyāi*. The rare root *ned* occurs repeatedly, both with *atī*, as in the examples hitherto found, and with *pra* (*tasya yo rasah prā 'nedat*, etc.).

I will only add further that the familiar later word *ādi* makes its earliest appearance here (it had been found till now no further back than in Upanishads

and Sūtras), and in constant connection with forms of $\bar{a} + \sqrt{d\bar{a}}$, showing that the derivation conjecturally given for it in the Petersburg Lexicon is unquestionably the true one. Examples are: *teno eva punar ādim ādatte* (i. 120); *ho ity uktvā "dīm ādatīta* (i. 130); *hīm kurvanti . . . prastūti . . . ādim ādatte . . . udgāyati . . . pratharati* etc. (iii. 304).

It may be mentioned, however, in conclusion, that the word *cākvāla*, put forward by Burnell as older form of *cakkavāla*, is (as conjectured by Böhtlingk in his minor dictionary) only the familiar *cāvāla*. The groups *tv* and *kv* are hardly distinguishable, and often confounded, in the Grantham manuscripts; but what they give here is pretty clearly meant for *tv*.

6. On Modes in Relative Clauses in the Rig-Veda, by Prof. J. Avery, of Brunswick, Me.

In a paper read before the Society in May, 1881 (see the Proceedings for that meeting, Journ., vol. xi., p. lxiv.), a statistical exhibit was made of the position of relative clauses in the Rig-Veda with reference to their corresponding antecedent clauses—understanding by relative clauses those introduced by the relative pronoun or relative adverbs of time, place, etc.

It is my design in the present paper to conclude the survey of these clauses by some statements regarding the modes of the verb employed in them. This portion of the subject has already been treated at some length by Delbrück in his work on the Use of the Subjunctive and Optative in Sanskrit and Greek; but as I have a list of all the occurrences of relative clauses in the Rig-Veda, and have examined them independently, it may not be superfluous to give my own impressions regarding their characteristics; especially as I shall endeavor to state exactly (as Delbrück has not done) the relative frequency of the various uses of the modes, and shall give a list of all occurrences except for the indicative. The advantage of a full citation of passages is obvious, since, in the present condition of syntactical studies on the oldest texts, interpretations and classifications must be considered open to amendment. The uses of the modes are so lacking in clear definition, and their forms even are so often doubtful, that no treatment of the subject can be accepted with confidence which is not accompanied with an ample list of illustrations, so that each scholar may interpret them for himself.

Now in regard to the modes in relative clauses, it may be said, in the first place, that all the modes of the finite verb—indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative—are represented in them; and that the frequency of their occurrence is in the order named. To these may be added a single example of the so-called conditional tense, or preterit from the future-stem.

As in other languages, the indicative is the mode found in the great majority of instances, claiming in the Rig-Veda about 88 per cent. of the whole number. In general, the familiar Greek rule prevails: that the indicative is used when the antecedent of the relative is definite, unless the general sense of the passage requires another mode. After an indefinite antecedent, in conditional clauses, the same mode is not uncommon; but in a majority of cases the subjunctive—less often the optative—takes its place. The following are a few examples: 'All that is auspicious which the gods favor' (*āvanti*) (ii. 23.19); 'No one harms him from near or far who is (*bhāvati*) under the guidance of the sons of Aditi' (ii. 27.13); 'He gains every kind of treasure whom thou furthest' (*invasti*) (v. 28.2); 'Fortunate beyond (others) let that man be (*astu*) who is obedient to (*cikṣati*) thy laws' (iii. 59.2). Occasionally the subjunctive and indicative are coördinated without any evident change in sense: e. g. 'who despises (*mānyate*) us, Maruts, or scorns (*nīmitsāt*) the prayer when made, his faults shall be flames to him' (vi. 52.2). Other examples of the indicative after an indefinite antecedent are: i. 141.6; ii. 25.1; 26.3; viii. 18.13. In one passage, iii. 4.9 (*yāto virāḥ . . . jā'yate*), we find the indicative where the subjunctive in a purpose-clause would seem much more appropriate.

Next to the indicative, the subjunctive most frequently occurs in relative clauses. It is found about 316 times, according to my understanding of the forms. It is fair to say, however, that owing to the identity of the 3d form of the subjunctive with the augmentless preterit, and to the fact that the subjunctive in Sanskrit does not as in Greek take a servile particle, nor does the relative assume a peculiar form,

such lists are liable to some amendment; still, in most instances the requirements of the context make the sense sufficiently certain.

The various uses of the subjunctive in relative clauses we will treat under four heads: Subjunctive in Conditional clauses; Subjunctive in Purpose-clauses; Subjunctive of Will; Subjunctive for the Future. The order of these categories also represents the relative frequency of their occurrence. The first is found about 241 times, the second 42 times, the third 17 times, the fourth 10 times. A few doubtful cases are not counted here. As in Greek, conditional clauses with the subjunctive may be divided into general suppositions and particular suppositions. In the first instance, the subjunctive is indefinite as to time, and is best translated by the present indicative; the verb of the antecedent clause is in the present indicative, or if in the aorist or perfect, it is used in a gnomic sense. A few examples will illustrate this usage: 'I hear their whips whenever they crack (*vādān*) in their hands' (i. 37.3); 'What mortal delights (*rārānat*) in thy friendship, divine Soma, him the wise seer attends' (i. 91.14); 'What mighty ones seek to win (*āvivāsān*) thy favor, victor, with hymns; having spread the *barhis* for a seat, supported by thee, Indra, they come (*agman*) to riches' (ii. 10.16); 'They call him sinful who approaches (*nigāchāt*) his own sister' (x. 10.12). In particular suppositions, the verb of the antecedent clause takes a mode referring to the future; the verb of the relative clause also has a distinctly future sense, and may often be best translated by our future-perfect. Examples are: 'When thou shalt have cooked (*kārasi cṛtām*) him, then give (*dattāt*) him over to the fathers; when he shall have come (*gāchātī*) to the spirit-world, then he shall become (*bhavātī*) a servant of the gods' (x. 16.2); 'Whoever shall have worshiped (*dā'cāt*) thee, him no harm shall reach' (*açnavat*) (ii. 23.4). This use of the subjunctive to express a general or particular supposition after a primary tense is accordant with Greek syntax; but I find no example of the rule that the optative shall follow a secondary tense. In the one or two passages where the perfect occurs in the principal clause, it manifestly has a present sense; and we shall find when we come to speak of the optative, that it is used precisely like the subjunctive. Another interesting deviation from Greek usage is, that while in the latter the indefiniteness of the antecedent is indicated by compounding the indefinite pronoun with the relative, and by the use of *āv* with the subjunctive, in Sanskrit, on the other hand, such devices to aid in understanding the sense are employed almost without exception when that is not sufficiently clear from the mode of the verb: that is to say, when it is in the indicative. I am able to cite but a single example where such words are used with a subjunctive: viz. 'Whenever (*yadā' kudā' ca*) we express (*sunāvāma*) the Soma, let Agni as messenger hasten to thee' (iii. 53.4). With the indicative may be cited vi. 75.6 (*yātra-yatra kāmāyate*); viii. 82.4 (*yād adyā kācca . . . udagā abhi*). In other elliptical expressions (vi. 46.8: x. 19.7; 20.8; 90.10; 97.10), the verb to be supplied is manifestly an indicative.

The next most common use of the subjunctive in relative clauses is to denote purpose. Such clauses being identical in form with hortatory clauses, the line between them cannot be very closely drawn. Both express the will of some person—commonly in this text that of the speaker. The following are examples: 'Bring us heroic power by which we may conquer (*vānsāma*) enemies in battles' (vi. 19.8); 'Give riches . . . by which we may subdue (*abhi krāmāma*) men who are godless enemies, and may overcome (*abhy açnāvāma*) godless tribes' (vi. 49.15); 'Which shall carry (*pī'parat*) us across the darkness, O bright Açvins, that power give us' (i. 46.6); 'I make for him a new, lordly song to (lit. which shall) please (*jūjoṣat*) him, in order that (*yāthā*) he may hear (*cṛṇāvat*) us' (vii. 26.1). In the last passage we seem to have the two ways of expressing purpose in the same verse. In the majority of purpose-clauses expressed by the relative pronoun and the subjunctive, the antecedent is indefinite. When the antecedent is definite, *yāthā* or *yād* is employed. The propriety of this usage is obvious: since, when the antecedent is indefinite, the relative clause is needed to define more fully its character. But there is nothing in the nature of such clauses to forbid their use after definite antecedents, and they are sometimes so employed in Greek. We cannot, then, quite agree with Delbrück's remark that relative purpose-clauses occur only after indefinite antecedents—at least, if our understanding of certain passages is correct. For example: 'Drive forth that victorious chariot of thine, that we may hail (*anumādāma*) it (lit. which we may hail) in battle' (i. 102.3);

'Let your favor be turned toward us, that it may give (lit. which may give) great relief (*varivovittarā ásat*) from distress' (i. 107.1); 'Hurl down from heaven thy thunderbolt, that with it thou mayest (lit. with which thou shalt) merrily burn down (*njūrvāh*) the enemy.'

In certain passages, the verb seems to express more directly exhortation, obligation, or, more mildly, prayer. These cases I have called, with Delbrück, the subjunctive of will. They shade off on the one side into purpose-clauses, and on the other into expressions of futurity. Examples are: 'Praise the Agni of Deva-vāta, O Devaṇavas, who shall be (*ásat*) the lord of men' (iii. 23.3); 'May the chant exalt Indra, which Indra may the offering and Soma exalt (*vārdhāt*); the prayer, song, hymn, devotion exalt' (*vārdhāt*) (vi. 38.3, 4). In viii. 20.15, we seem to have an interchange of clauses. As it stands we must read, 'He was fortunate by your aid in former dawns, Maruts, who shall be (*ásati*) so now also.' The more natural form would be, 'Whoever was fortunate by your aid in former dawns, may he also be so now.'

In expressions of will, it is said that the will resides in the first person, and that obligation expresses the condition of the second or third person. We can quote one passage where the subjunctive seems to represent an obligation resting on the first person: 'Tell me, ye gods, by what path I ought to bring (*vāhāmi*) the oblation to you' (x. 52.1).

The last use of the subjunctive in relative clauses which we shall note is that in which it approaches the sense of the future indicative. This use is appropriately called by Delbrück the subjunctive of expectation. It is common to speak of it as a softened, i. e. a doubtful, future; but I question whether the Vedic usage does not lie nearer to the primitive idea of the subjunctive, that of will, rather than to the later and weaker sense of contingency. Thus, i. 113.11, after speaking of the appearance of the dawn to the men of old, and its present rising before his eyes, the poet adds: 'Those are coming who shall see (*pácyān*) her hereafter.' To his mind, no phenomenon of nature is so unailing as the recurrence of the dawn; and the firmness of his confidence is expressed by the subjunctive. A passage where the sense is not quite so obvious is vii. 87.7: 'We long to be guiltless before Varuṇa, who will (assuredly) pardon (*mṛṣáyāti*) him who hath committed sin.' Here the worshiper seems to express unfaltering, child-like trust in the loving compassion of the god. This use of the subjunctive is not of frequent occurrence.

A few cases of improper subjunctives are not included in the above classification; they are perhaps rather to be understood as indicatives.

The optative, as a comparatively infrequent form, occurs in relative clauses far less often than the subjunctive; still it not only is occasionally found in its proper sense of wishing, but it also begins to usurp the functions of the subjunctive, which it has mainly supplanted in the later language. 1. The optative of wishing: 'Receive this prayer of mine, Maruts, by whose power we wish to live (*tārema*) a hundred winters' (v. 54.15). This passage might be easily understood as a purpose-clause. 'To us, who wish to conquer (*sánema*) by thy aid, . . . thou didst give over Viśvarūpa, Tvāstar's son' (ii. 11.19). 2. The optative in conditions: 'Let the mighty bull roar . . . whenever he is aroused' (*juguryā't*) (i. 173.2); 'What priest knows (*vidyā't*) the solar hymn, he deserves the bride's garment' (x. 85.34). 3. The optative in purpose-clauses: 'Grant us renown in heroes, by which we may outshine (*citāyema*) others' (iv. 36.9); 'Bring hither great riches, Agni, by which we may have enjoyment' (*mādema*) (vii. 1.24). 4. The optative of expectation: 'I wish to ally myself with the kind friend who will not harm (*risyet*) me' (viii. 48.10).

The imperative scarcely occurs in relative clauses, being found but once in its proper form, at i. 127.2: 'We wish to invoke thee, the flame-haired bull, whom let all these tribes urge on (*prā'vantu*) to haste.' There is, however, one other passage in which a quasi-imperative is used, i. 63.8: 'Do thou, divine Indra, make this sparkling libation flow around like floods of water, with which grant (*yānsi*) us life.'

As we have noticed already, the conditional form of the verb occurs once: ii. 30.2.

After this compendious statement of the modes used in relative clauses, and the principal senses in which they are employed, I have only two remarks to add: 1. It appears that in conditional relative clauses the mode of the verb is not deter-

mined by the tense of the verb in the antecedent clause; 2. As might be expected, the order of the clauses has no effect upon the modes. On the contrary, the nature of the relative clause seems to have an influence upon the order; for while on the whole the antecedent clause stands first in a small majority of cases, yet in relative conditional clauses, in which the relative clause precedes in order of thought, it precedes in position also in about the ratio of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. On the other hand, in purpose-clauses, where the relative clause follows in order of thought, it follows in position also almost invariably.

LIST OF CITATIONS.

Sub. in rel. cond. clauses (antecedent indefinite), i. 27.7²; 30.15; 35.6; 37.3; 42.2; 46.3; 48.15; 54.5; 63.2; 68.6²; 70.6; 71.6²; 73.8; 77.2, 4; 82.1; 84.16; 86.7; 91.14, 20; 93.3, 8; 94.15²; 100.11; 101.8; 113.10; 121.7, 12; 122.12; 123.3; 127.7; 132.5, 6²; 139.1, 8; 156.2²; 164.16; 165.7, 10; 166.14²; 167.2; 169.4; 174.4; 179.3; 180.1, 2; 186.9: ii. 1.15; 11.3, 16; 14.8; 23.4, 7, 14, 15³; 30.1, 7⁴; 31.2; 34.10: iii. 6.7²; 8.1²; 10.3; 30.5; 51.11; 53.4: iv. 2.6²; 7⁴, 8², 9², 10²; 4.10; 11.2; 12.2; 16.11, 17²; 23.4; 24.7², 10; 41.11; 42.6²; 55.2: v. 3.5, 7; 4.11; 27.4; 29.13; 30.3; 33.2; 37.5; 42.10; 49.4; 50.4; 56.2; 60.6; 62.6; 73.5; 79.7: vi. 2.4, 5; 4.1; 5.4²; 9.3; 15.14; 25.4², 6, 7; 26.1; 45.14, 23; 46.13; 52.2; 56.4; 59.4; 60.1; 67.8, 11²; 68.4: vii. 16.7; 20.6, 7, 8; 25.1²; 30.3², 4; 32.5, 7, 11, 13; 40.1, 3; 42.4; 47.2; 50.2; 56.22; 57.4; 60.11; 65.2; 66.4; 70.6; 85.4; 88.3², 6; 93.3, 5; 98.4²; 100.1²; 103.4: viii. 1.31; 13.6², 28; 19.14, 30; 31.1⁴; 45.6; 50.12²; 55.4; 58.7; 69.9; 82.28, 29, 30; 85.12; 89.1; 92.4: ix. 72.2; 102.5: x. 2.3, 4²; 3.2; 10.11², 12; 11.7, 8²; 12.1, 4, 6²; 15.6; 16.2², 11; 27.10, 11; 31.10; 37.5; 43.5; 45.9; 50.3; 53.8; 61.4, 23; 87.13²; 91.11; 93.5; 95.12; 96.9; 97.17; 99.8; 148.3; 155.1 = 241.

Sub. in purpose-clauses—indef. ant., i. 8.1; 46.6; 140.12; 166.14: ii. 38.11: iii. 13.4: iv. 41.1²: v. 23.1; 37.3: vi. 16.36; 19.8; 33.1²; 48.12; 49.15²; 68.1: vii. 26.1; 53.3; 56.15: viii. 1.8²; 6.24; 19.15; 27.22; 49.12: ix. 9.2; 97.51; 101.9: x. 44.9; 63.6; 68.10; 85.37²; 98.3; 113.10 = 36. *Def. ant.?* i. 102.3; 107.1: ii. 20.3; 30.5: iii. 62.10: viii. 19.20 = 6.

Sub. of will, i. 70.8; 176.5; 185.6: iii. 23.3; 33.8: vi. 17.11; 22.10; 38.4³: vii. 61.2: viii. 20.15²; 24.27: ix. 108.14: x. 29.8; 52.1² = 17.

Sub. of expectation, i. 113.11: iv. 55.2: vi. 12.2: vii. 87.7: viii. 92.11: x. 10.10; 53.9; 74.4²; 96.8 = 10.

Doubtful cases, i. 100.14: iii. 44.3: vi. 12.5: vii. 56.16: viii. 2.39; 60.11.

Optative of wish, ii. 11.19: v. 54.15: vi. 19.7: vii. 3.7; 56.24. — *condition*, i. 173.2: v. 34.8: vi. 16.46: viii. 19.11: x. 85.34.—*purpose*, i. 30.13: iv. 36.9: vii. 1.24: viii. 40.1.—*expectation*, viii. 48.10.

Imperative, i. 63.8 (*yañsi*); 127.2. *Conditional*, ii. 30.2.

Totals: Subjunctive, 316; Optative, 15; Imperative, 2; Conditional, 1.

7. On certain Irregular Vedic Subjunctives or Imperatives, by Prof. M. Bloomfield, of Baltimore, Md.; presented by Prof. Lanman, of Cambridge.

The Vedic forms referred to are those of the types *stota*, *juhóta*, *krñóta*; *étana*; *kírta*, *tyarta*; *gánta*; *addáta*; *unáitta*—appearing at first sight to be so-called imperfect subjunctives, but having irregularly strong stem-forms with accent on the stem, instead of on the ending. The words of this form occurring in the Rig-Veda were first stated, with their number of occurrences in that text. They have been (by Delbrück and Whitney) regarded as simple variations of the regular forms *stutá*, *juhutá*, etc., perhaps under government of the belief that they were the product of metrical needs. But this seems wrong; because the short vowel would rather have been lengthened to make it suit the iambic cadence, nor would the accent have been shifted: cf. *yuyopimá*, with metrically altered root-vowel but unchanged accent (reg. *yuyupimá*). It is indisputable that the forms originated in some way from metrical needs. A detailed examination (given in full in the paper) of the passages where they occur shows that, for example, of the 66 occurrences of forms with irregular *o*, 35 occur in the cadence of the verse, where a long vowel is most imperatively demanded, and most of the remainder where the heavy syllable is either required or strongly favored; and the same thing is substantially true of the other classes of the words under dis-

cussion. The forms showing an *ā*, it was urged, are particularly calculated to make it improbable that the category represents a modification of augmentless subjunctives; since, for example, *punā'ta* and *punitā* are metrically equivalent; while *dadāta* etc. are so remote in form and accent from *datā* etc. that their supposed formal correlation is extremely improbable.

The following theory of the formation was then proposed. In the division of subjunctives with mode-sign *a* and secondary endings, if we look at Prof. Avery's lists of forms from the Rig-Veda, we shall be struck by the fact that the 2d and 3d dual, and especially the 2d plural, are entirely unrepresented. The exclusion of so important a case as the 2d plural from an otherwise well-developed category is *à priori* improbable. It is even not to be doubted that just here must be sheltered such forms as *punā'ta* and *dadāta*, which are in all respects regular subjunctives save that their ending is secondary. And this furnishes the key for the others also. If we look over the subjunctive forms possible from a stem *ṛṇu*, for example, we find *ṛṇutā*, *ṛṇāvatha*, and **ṛṇāvata*. It is seen at once why an additional form was needed: none of these, being of four light syllables, is fit for use in iambic cadence. Nothing is more natural than that the least usable among them, **ṛṇāvata* (since *th* at least occasionally makes position), should be remodeled. Accordingly, forms like *ṛṇōta*, *juhōta*, *étana*, *kārta*, are to be regarded as contracted or apostrophized from the hypothetical *ṛṇāvata*, *juhāvata*, *áyatana*, *kárata*. This may be urged with especial emphasis for the *o*-forms; for the metrical correlation of *ava* and *o* is established by many instances which cannot be impugned. A few cases of such correlation were given as examples, the point not having been fully worked up. Thus the "weak" stem *maghon-* for *maghavan-*; and *maghavan* has even sometimes to be read for written *maghon*, as at RV. vi. 65. 3; as *gávas* for *gós* (i. 181. 8), *ávasadhīsu* for *ósadhīsu* (vi. 3. 7), and *rávadasī* for *ródasi* (i. 62. 7); and *stávante* seems clearly to require to be read *stónte* at vi. 26. 7. Compare also vocatives like *aghos* and *bhagos* from *aghavas* and *bhagavas*, and the relation of *ṛona* to *ṛavana*—without resorting to such doubtful etymologies (BR.) as *ostha* from *avastha*. Analogous is the correlation of *avi* with *ā*: *stháivasya* is to be read as *sthū'rasya* at RV. vi. 18. 12, and *sthū'ram* as *stháiviram* at vi. 19. 10. Compare the contraction of causative *aya* to *e* in Prákrít. Cases in which original etymological *ara* and *ana* become *ar* and *an* are not, to be sure, found; but extensions of *ar* or *ra* to two syllables are well-known; and cases have been pointed out in which *na* is to be read as *ana*.

The points, then, which cause the explanation here given to be proposed with some confidence are these. The language furnished no iambic forms for these persons; they had to be supplied by some secondary process. These very cases are wanting in the scheme of the subjunctive; and a form like *ṛṇōta* is the most natural modification for metrical purposes of *ṛṇāvata*. As negative evidence may be added that the forms in question do not occur with the negative *mā*—which is in accordance with the fact that *mā* is used with the augmentless and not the thematic subjunctive. The single exception (RV. ii. 30. 7) is one of the two cases where *o* occurs in a syllable which is more usually light.

At first sight, the whole theory seems endangered by the fact that there are also augmented imperfect forms (as *akṛṇotana*, *ákarta*, *ájaganta*, *ádadāta*, *ábravātana*). But it is *à priori* not unlikely that on the analogy of forms like *kṛṇota* and *kṛṇuta* there should be formed an *akṛṇota* to *akṛṇuta*. Moreover, these imperfects, not numerous, occur under peculiar conditions. Of the 14 occurrences, 10 are found in the 1st and 10th Books (5 in the *ṛbhu*-hymn i. 161); 3 in the *ṛbhu*-hymn iv. 35; the remaining one at vii. 33. 4.

Prof. Bloomfield's paper closed with the expression of an intention to work the whole subject over again as soon as other engagements permitted, and with an invitation of criticism and suggestions.

In response to the author's request, Prof. Whitney offered some remarks upon the theory. Prof. Bloomfield was mistaken, he said, in supposing that his grammar intended to suggest a theory as to the character and origin of these forms; he had been careful simply to note and describe them, as forms showing the ordinary characteristics of a strong stem where a weak one was to be expected. Especially was it far from his thought that the irregular forms should have been called out by metrical needs, since he utterly disbelieved in such an originating cause. If a Vedic verse-maker has two equivalent forms to use, as *kṛṇutā* and

krṇóta, he will naturally put each of them into the place which it fits, or where in the loose and easy structure of Vedic metre it can be tolerated; and the detailed discussion of the metrical uses of the two classes of forms in the paper was nothing but an illustration of this innocent fact, and had no force to prove anything. If there is only one form, as *krṇutá*, the poet puts it where it can go, and fills up the rest of the verse with something else. To assume that there is anything in the metrical form of *krṇutá* which leads to the creation of a *krṇóta* for other metrical places seemed to the speaker inadmissible, and he was glad to take this opportunity to protest earnestly against it, since it is by no means uncommon. No small part, for example, of Benfey's interminable discussions of the *pada*- and *savhitā*-differences of reading in Vedic texts was in his opinion vitiated by it; and it would be easy to refer to other examples. Of course, like everything else of the kind, the metrical convenience of doublets like *krṇóta krṇutá* is liable to be extended beyond its natural limits; an unskilful versifier will make, for example, a *kuróta* beside *kurutá*; and such things will be done the more, the more unvernacular the language and the more artificial the style. So, in view of the widely prevailing equivalence of active and middle forms in Sanskrit, the epics unquestionably sometimes, purely *metri causá*, say e. g. *bhavate* for *bhuvati*; but they would never think of saying *bhavati*, because there is no genuine form like the latter. So also, doubtless, there are some inorganic cases of final *ā* for *a* in Vedic words; but it is because there are so many real cases of variation in quantity of the final vowel to serve as justification of the protraction. And in the discussion of such double forms, one should never be content to say "this is metrical," which means nothing and explains nothing; the question should rather be: is this a historical form, or is it only the imitation of such, made upon this or that analogy? If one is allowed simply to plead that a given heavy vowel is explained by the metre, there is nothing in the way of our admitting a set of variant forms for every word in the language, fitting it to all the conceivable exigencies of metrical use.

As regards, also, the filling-in of a theoretically deficient scheme of subjunctive inflection, Prof. Whitney was disinclined to admit the suggestions of the paper. Instead of lists of forms from the Rig-Veda alone, the paragraphs (560, 562) in his grammar devoted to this point might well have been consulted and referred to by Prof. Bloomfield, since they state the facts of subjunctive formation as derived from the whole body of literature, both Veda and Brāhmaṇa, in which subjunctives occur. It is only in two active persons, the 2d and 3d singular, that thematic subjunctive forms are made with both primary and secondary endings; in four of the remaining persons only with primary, and in three only with secondary. Among these seven deficient persons, there would seem to be no good reason for selecting one or two whose deficiency should be painfully felt and sought to be supplied; we might, for instance, as naturally expect a *krṇāvāmas* and *krṇāvānti* and *krṇāvam* to be added as *krṇāvata*. The explanation of the strange distribution of endings in the subjunctive active, while in the middle they are almost exclusively primary, is still to seek; but by the assumption of double forms in the 2d plural it does not appear to be brought any nearer.

But further, the paper does not take account of all the forms which might claim the right to be brought into the discussion. There are in the imperative a number of 2d persons singular also, made upon the strong instead of upon the weak stem: in the Rig-Veda, *yuyodhī* and *śīcādhi* (to which may be added *edhī*, if, as generally believed, it comes from *as-dhi*); from other texts, *grṇāhi*, *grhṇāhi*, *panāhi*, *grṇāhi*, *strṇāhi*, and the middle *rarāsva*; and the augmentless quasi-subjunctive *yuyothās* (RV.) should be mentioned with them. There can be no question here of contracted subjunctives; they are simply forms made with the usual ending, from the strong stem: and if the 2d singulars, why not the 2d plurals likewise? There is at least a *primā facie* probability that all these irregular second persons belong together, and are to be explained together.

Objection is also to be made to the treatment of such forms as *kárta* and *gánta* on one plane with the rest. These do not belong to the present-system, but to the root-aorist; and although this is in its inflection mainly accordant with an imperfect of the root-class, yet (as pointed out in the grammar, § 831-3) its stem is especially liable to irregular strengthening, and about as large a proportion of

the forms in the first person plural show the strong stem as of those in the second.

For these reasons, while acknowledging the ingenuity of Prof. Bloomfield's theory, we can hardly accept it as satisfactorily explaining the irregularity with which it deals.

8. Was there at the head of the Babylonian Pantheon a deity bearing the name *El*? by Prof. D. G. Lyon, of Cambridge, Mass.

This question is one of no small interest, and has been variously answered. The affirmative has been espoused by most writers on the Babylonian religion, including some of the best Assyrian scholars. On the other hand, Prof. Tiele, in his *Histoire Comparée des Anciennes Religions* (pp. 181, 182), denies the validity of the argument; and very recently, as a correspondent from Germany has informed us, Prof. Fr. Delitzsch has also surrendered his belief in a Babylonian *El* (cf. the "Hebrew Student," Morgan Park, Chicago, for Feb., 1883). Yet *El* still has his friends. Prof. Schrader of Berlin and Prof. G. Rawlinson of Oxford have reaffirmed his existence in two works published during the current year (Schrader: *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, ed. 2, p. 11; Rawlinson: "The Religions of the Ancient World," pp. 37, 38).

This paper will first attempt to show that Rawlinson's proof is based on mis-translations, and will then examine some other grounds claimed for the existence of a god *El* or *Il*. Rawlinson is himself evidently not acquainted with the Assyrian literature in the original, but has taken all his translations at second-hand. Still, his book purports to be scientific in its methods, to give only facts without theories: in his own words, to collect "materials which may serve as a portion of the data, when the time comes, if it ever comes, for the construction of the science in question"—i. e. the "Science of Religion" (p. 3). His book then is professedly critical, and in it he asserts the existence of a Babylonian *El*, or rather *Il* or *Ra* (pp. 37, 38). His proof-texts are found in the faulty translations of "The Records of the Past." He confesses indeed that the very name of the supposed god *Il* "is not of frequent occurrence." In a foot-note (p. 37) he gives several references to the "Records."

The first is translated in the "Records" (v. 21): "From all the enemies of Ashur, the whole of them, I exacted labor. I made, and finished the repairs of, the temple of the goddess Astarte, my lady, and of the temple of Martu, and of Bel, and Il, and of the sacred buildings and shrines of the gods belonging to my city of Ashur." The original text (I. R. 14.85 ff.) should be translated: "After I had subdued the enemies of the god *Ashur* in all their boundaries, I restored and finished the temple of *Ishtar* of *Ashur* (?), my lady, the temple of *Raman*, the temple of *Mullabara* (?), the house of divinity (?), the decayed temples of my city *Ashur*." What here concerns us is the expression *bit ilu Mullabara*, written *bit an én à ra*. The translation of the "Records" seems to take *én* with the preceding *ilu* as an ideogram with the value *Bél*, which it often has; to take *à* as the connective, certainly its usual value; and to understand *ra* as an ideogram representing the god *Ra* or *Il*. It would be a sufficient objection against thus dividing the signs *én à ra* to point, with Dr. Lotz, in his comment on this combination (*Die Inschriften Tiglathpileser's* I. p. 168), to another list of gods where the name of this deity occurs (III. R. 66, obv. 5 b). Lotz gives also his grounds for reading the name *Mullabara*. But if this second passage were unknown, the translation in the "Records" would still be very improbable, because both the word *bit* 'house, temple' and the determinative *ilu* 'god' are wanting before the sign *ra*: proof that *ra* could not as an independent word be of the same class as *Ishtar* and *Raman*, and consequently not the name of a deity. And even if *ra* here did represent a god *Il*, he would be only a member of the Assyrian Pantheon. This passage then would prove absolutely nothing for a Babylonian god *Il* or *El*, except so far as his existence might be inferred from his presence in the Assyrian Pantheon.

The second reference might seem to lend more support to Rawlinson's theory ("Records," v. 129). The original reads (I. R. 56, col. 7, l. 13; I. R. 57, col. 7, l. 14, 15): "The many kings preceding me whose names *ilu* appointed unto royalty." If the text here be correct, we might translate *ilu* by 'the deity,' or understand it to be the name of a god *Il*. The latter would, however, only be admissible if we

had independent evidence of *Il*'s existence. But the highest god in the Babylonian pantheon of Nebuchadnezzar was undoubtedly *Marduk*, and the passage is from one of this king's inscriptions. It is to *Marduk* that the same text gives such titles as *bél ilāni ilu Marduk*, 'lord of the gods, the god *Marduk*' (col. 4, l. 8; col. 7, l. 24), and *bél shigilli ilāni*, 'the lord, the leader of the gods' (col. 9, l. 47). Many gods are mentioned in the text, but *Marduk* towers above them all. He is the *ilu*, 'the deity' *par excellence*. We shall return to this subject later.

Rawlinson's next two references to the "Records" are from a translation by Oppert. The signs here read *El* are *an én kit* (cf. original I. R. 70, col. 3, l. 9; col. 4, l. 2). The *an* or *ilu* is the determinative for 'god,' and *én kit* is the very frequent combination for the god *Bél* (e. g. IV. R. 61, 30-1 b; Dour-Sarkayan, p. 24, l. 2, compared with p. 26, l. 2). Oppert has himself elsewhere in the "Records" (xi. 20: the original is I. R. 36.58) correctly translated *an én kit* by *Bél*; while in still another place ("Records," xi. 24) he has combined his two readings and given us a third, *Bél-El*. Here he evidently means only to say that he regards *Bél* and *El* as convertible terms, or rather that *Bél* is *El*. But Rawlinson misunderstood him, and hence he tells us that in two of the passages the name *El* "seems to stand for *Bél*, who is called *Bél-El* sometimes" (p. 37, note). Let the future writer on the "Science of religion" beware of such "data" as these!

The "Records" (v. 118) have another mention of the god *El*, but the translation is hopelessly incorrect. The original (I. R. 54, col. 2, l. 60), *an an shu par (?) an ki*, could never mean '(the statue) of the god *El*, the beauty of the sphere.' It is to be read *ilāni shu-par (?) shamé iršiti*, 'the gods in the presence (?) of heaven and earth.' The same expression occurs elsewhere (V. R. i. 86), except that the plural *ilāni* is expressed, not by doubling the sign *an an*, but in the more usual way, *an mesh*.

Equally unfortunate is the argument for the existence of a god *Il* (*El*) or *Ra* drawn from the Accadian name of the city Babylon, which Rawlinson informs us (p. 38) was *Ka-ra*. On the contrary, this name was *Ka-dingir*, generally written *Ka an ra*, where *ra* is what is known as a "phonetic complement," indicating that the preceding sign *an* is an ideogram for a word ending in the letter *r* (*ka* = Assyrian *bābu*, 'gate,' Arabic *bābu*: cf. Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*, p. 52, l. 233; and for *dingir* = Assyrian *ilu*, 'god,' cf. ib. p. 46, l. 2). The name *Bab-ilu* is then a literal translation into Assyrian from the Accadian *Ka-dingir*, 'gate of god.' As *dingir* was the generic term for 'deity' among the Accadians, so was *ilu* among the Babylonians and Assyrians. Far from meaning 'the gate of *Il*,' it more probably means simply 'gate of deity,' without reference to a special god or even to a single god. This seems to be also Schrader's present opinion (K. A. T.², pp. 127, 128). The word *ilu* often occurs where there is no thought of a particular god: e. g. I. R. 36.64, where Sargon appoints for his new capital, *Dûr-Sharrukên*, persons who shall teach the inhabitants *palah ili u sharri*, 'the fear of god and of king,' i. e. 'of the gods and of the kings.' Elsewhere there is mention of the food or the clothing 'of god and of king' (cf. Judg. ix. 13).

Prof. Rawlinson says (p. 38) that the god *Il* "was certainly regarded as the head of the pantheon;" and yet, perhaps because he was "a somewhat shadowy being," the Babylonians "frequently omit him from lists which seem to contain all the other gods." He cites as a case of such omission an inscription of the very ancient king *Agu-kak-rimé* ("Records," vii. 3 ff.). But the original (V. R. 33, col. 7, l. 36) has in the list cited the very ideograms (*an én kit*) on which Oppert's and Rawlinson's *Bél-El* is based. The same ideogram occurs also in the 5th line of this inscription; but as it is in both cases correctly translated '*Bél*' in the "Records," Rawlinson is thus prevented from recognizing his imaginary *Bél-El*. This list ("Records," vii. 7, 8) is by no means intended to give the names of all the principal gods. It omits *Ishtar*, the greatest of the goddesses. But that *Ishtar* was one of the chief deities of *Agu-kak-rimé*'s pantheon is seen by the fact that she is mentioned in the opening of the inscription (l. 9) along with the great gods *Anu*, *Bél*, *Ea*, *Marduk*, *Sîn*, and *Shamash*.

We pass now to the examination of some other passages in the cuneiform inscriptions. One of these is *an én kit an an an sur ut* (I. R. 63, col. 7, l. 24; V. R. 34.48 a), and has been generally understood until recently to contain the names of three gods, *Bél*, *El*, and *Marduk*. As we have above seen, *an én kit* are indeed the signs which very often represent the god *Bél*; *an sur ut* are the signs for the god

Marduk. It was therefore very natural to see in *an an* another deity, i. e. the god *Il*. This interpretation commits, however, a double mistake; *an en kit* is not here, as it often is, the god *Bél*, is indeed not a proper name at all, but means *bél* 'lord,' while *an an* is to be read *ilāni*, 'the gods.' We should then have in transliteration *bél ilāni Marduk*, 'the lord of the gods, *Marduk*,' in which *Marduk* and the 'lord of the gods' are synonymous expressions. The reading *bél ilāni Marduk*, 'the lord of gods, *Marduk*,' recommends itself by its bare announcement, is perfectly consonant with what we know to have been the high regard of the Babylonians for this deity, and is raised above all doubt by line 44 in a Nebuchadnezzar inscription recently acquired by the library of Harvard University. This line has the signs *an šur ut an en kit ni ni*, which are to be read *Marduk bél ilāni*, i. e. '*Marduk*, the lord of gods.' Here *Marduk* precedes the appositive title *bél ilāni*, and *ni ni* has taken the place of *an an*. But *ni ni* is a well-known way of writing *ilāni*: cf. for instance II. R. 55.1 *b*, where the writing *bé-kit ni-ni* stands for the goddess whose name is often written *bé-lit an mésh*: i. e. *bélit ilāni* (I. R. 36.60); or cf. V. R. 34.52 *b*, where for *ni ni* another copy reads *an an*, i. e. *ilāni*, 'the gods.' Compare further the expression *ilāni* (written *ni ni*) *bān'a*, 'the gods, my creators' (IV. R. 17.24 *b*).

It is also not without analogy when *an en kit*, the special combination of signs for the god *Bél*, is employed instead of the usual simple *en* as a common name for *bél*, 'lord.' The same secondary application of a sign is seen in the large character pronounced *ù* and used as a connective of words. This *ù* is, so far as I have observed, never employed in the older literature as a syllable, but is always an independent word meaning 'and,' or it is occasionally an ideogram (as in *Mullabara* above). But in some of the texts of Nebuchadnezzar *ù* is used both as a connective and as a syllable, specially in the word *ra-bi-ù* 'great:' e. g. *Marduk bél ra-bi-ù*, '*Marduk*, the great lord' (V. R. 34.11 *a*); *bél ra-bi-ù Marduk*, 'the great lord, *Marduk*' (V. R. 34.55 *b*; cf. also I. R. 51, col. 1, 10).

Another passage supposed—by Schrader, for instance (K. A. T.², 11)—to be positive proof of the existence of a god *Il*, is on a lexicographical tablet containing a list of gods (II. R. 48.24 ff.). Part of this bilingual tablet contains on the left certain signs and on the right the names of certain deities, written ideographically or phonetically, represented by those signs. First comes *ilu*, then *ish-tar*. These are followed by *Anu*, *Bél*, and *Ea*, the members of the first triad in the Pantheon. Then come *Sin*, *Shamash*, *Raman*, constituting the second well-known triad. After these are *Marduk* and his spouse, *Zirpanitu*; *Nabu* and his spouse, *Tashmētu*.

Now it is claimed that this list gives the names of the Babylonian gods with their relative rank, and that *ilu* at the head of the list is the supreme god, i. e. the god *Il* or *El*. *Ish-tar*, the second name, is also understood to be the well-known goddess *Ishtar*. Of course, then, she must be the second in rank, next to *El*, and higher than *Anu*, *Bél*, and *Ea*.

The date of this tablet is not known, though it is perhaps very old. The mention of a Sargon, who is probably the Sargon of Agane, would indicate that the text was not earlier than the time of this king. Now we have texts belonging to still earlier times, for instance a text of the old king *Agu-kak-rimé* (V. R. 33); but this text, though mentioning many of the gods, has no *Il*; and it names the goddess *Ishtar* after *Anu*, *Bél*, *Ea*, and other gods. In general, leaving the list under discussion out of the question, I know of no evidence that *Ishtar* was ever regarded as of equal rank with the gods *Anu*, *Bél*, and *Ea*. In the Assyrian method of representing the gods by numbers, 60 stands for *Anu*, 30 for *Sin*, the moon-god; while *Ishtar* has only 15 (Lotz, *Quest. de hist.-Sabb.*). The presumption therefore is that in the list before us either *ishtar* is not the goddess of that name, or if it is, the list is not altogether arranged according to the relative rank of the gods.

The most probable solution of the difficulty lies in considering both *ilu* and *ish-tar* in the list as representing not two deities, but generically 'god' and 'goddess' (so Tiele, *Hist. Comp.*, p. 182), just as they in their turn are preceded by two signs for 'heaven' and 'earth.' The use of the word *ish-tar* (written *an ish-tar*) to express, not the name of a deity, but 'goddess' in general, would be parallel to what we have above seen in regard to the name *Bél*. And there is other proof that *ish-tar* was so used, being indeed occasionally accompanied by pronominal suffixes. See the expression *lib-bi ili-shu ù ilu ishtar-shu*, 'the heart of his god and

his goddess' (IV. R. 8.10 a), and *ul i-ri-man-ni ilu ish-ta-ri*, 'My goddess has not loved me' (IV. R. 67.58 b). The word occurs even in the plural, like the Hebrew עֲשָׂרוֹת. One of Sargon's inscriptions mentions *ilāni ù ilu ish-tar-at āshibulē Ashur*, 'the gods and goddesses inhabiting Assyria' (Khors. 176; cf. II. R. 66.2). That *ilu* is often used for 'god' in general is a well-known fact, and some examples of such use have already been quoted.

Still another argument for the existence of a god *El* is drawn from a passage in an inscription of the old Babylonian king *Hammurabi* or *Hammuragash* (Ménant, *Manuel de la lang. assyr.*, 2d ed). This text begins thus: 'I am Hammuragash, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the king . . . of the four regions of the world, who fulfils the will of *Marduk*, the ruler who rejoices his (i. e. *Marduk's*) heart.' It then proceeds: 'When *ilu (an) ù én kit* gave the people of Sumer and Akkad into my dominion and filled my hand . . . I digged the canal of Hammuragash, a blessing for the people, the bearer (*bābīlāt*) of abundant waters to the inhabitants of Sumer and Akkad.' The discussion here concerns the signs *ilu (an) ù an én kit*, which have been read *Ilu ù Bēl*, 'the god *Il* and the god *Bēl*.'

Beside this reading, there are sundry other possibilities. 1. A mistake in the text. For *ù* perhaps there should be *sur-ut*, the similar and well-known signs for the god *Marduk*. The passage would then read *Marduk bēl*, '*Marduk*, the lord' (*an én kit*, as above, representing in that case not the god *Bēl* but the common noun *bēl*, 'lord').

2. But let us suppose the text correct. Then we may read *ilu ù Bēl*, '*ilu* and *Bēl*,' and understand *ilu* as 'the god, the deity.' The question then becomes, which deity? In this inscription the god preëminent is *Marduk*, so that the passage, while reading 'the god and *Bēl*,' would mean '*Marduk* and *Bēl*.' This agrees well with other parts of the inscription. It is with the forces which *Marduk* gives him that Hammuragash builds his castle. Omitting the passage under examination, no other deity is mentioned by name except *Marduk*, and his name is mentioned twice. *Marduk* is then clearly the chief god of this text. In another short inscription of Hammuragash, *Marduk* is beyond all question the great god in this king's pantheon. He is called by such titles as 'the great lord' (*bēl rabū*), 'the giver of abundance' (*nadīn hēgallī*), 'the lord of Hammuragash,' 'the lord of Eshagril and Ezida' (two famed temples). Hammuragash names himself 'the beloved shepherd of *Marduk*,' and he built at Borsippa a temple to '*Marduk his creator*' (*ana Marduk ilī bānīshu*). Prof. Tiele (*Hist. Comp.* 182) offers the same solution, but supposes that *ilu* stands for the god *Anu*, which seems to me less probable.

One might go a step further, and maintain that, so far as our information extends, *Marduk* is from the earliest times of the national history the chief Babylonian deity in point of rank, and that therefore there was no place for a supreme god *El* or *Il*.

Another paragraph should discuss the use of the word *ilu* in proper names. It is well known that both Babylonians and Assyrians were very fond of compounding proper names of several elements, one of which should be the name of a deity. The result of an examination of proper names containing *ilu* would be to show that this word does not represent a particular deity, but simply 'god,' as we saw above in the case of *Bab-ilu*, 'Babylon.' This is not saying that *ilu* would mean the same god in each case. *Zikar-ilu*, for instance, 'Servant of *ilu*,' might mean servant of *Ashūr*, servant of *Marduk*, servant of *Bēl*, according to the preferences of the family in conferring the name.

On general grounds also it might be argued that there was no superior god *Il* in the Babylonian pantheon. It is on all sides admitted that he must have been a very vague, indefinite being, whose functions no one can define. The system was complete without him. *Anu* was god of the heavens, *Bēl* of the earth, *Ea* of the deep. The planets also had their special deities. In Assyria, *Ashūr* was the national god, excelling in power all others. In Babylon this dignity belonged to *Marduk*. If a supreme god *Il* existed, he ought to have taken some part in the conduct of affairs, either of gods or of men; this he seems never to have done.

Further, in the Babylonian account of Creation and the Deluge, many gods appear, but a god *Il* never. Likewise in the accounts of the Babylonian gods which have been left us in Greek by Berossus and Damascius, *Il* has no place.

And, in general, in the older Babylonian system (for it is supposed that the idea of the supremacy of *Il* became obscured in later times), we may the less expect to find a god to whom the other members of the pantheon are subject. This would be an approach to monotheism which the Babylonians down to the fall of their empire never made. Before the consolidation of the empire, it seems that each city or province regarded its own deity as the most powerful of all; and after such consolidation the national god became the most powerful, but still the other deities did not become his subjects. They were indeed in the estimation of the people inferior to the national god, but independent of him, each in his own sphere supreme. It is in national affairs that the supremacy of the national deity appears.

For the general conclusion we might draw support of a negative kind from other Semitic sources. The word *El* represents neither in Hebrew nor Phœnician the name of a supreme deity (the Arabic does not have the word), but is, as among the Babylonians, the general term for 'deity.' The Phœnicians seem not to have advanced beyond this point. The Hebrews went further. When they rose to the full consciousness of monotheism, they made use of the general term for deity, *El*, *Elohim*, in speaking of the only God. They still retained indeed the name *Yahwe* along with *Elohim*, but it was because their national deity *Yahwe*, whom they had once regarded as one among other deities, had risen to be in meaning co-extensive with *Elohim*. *Yahwe* has burst through national boundaries and become the *Il*, the 'god,' of the whole world, not superior to other gods, but the only God, holding to all others the relation of existence to non-existence. This is the doctrine which comes out with such force in the second Isaiah (xlvi. 5, 6, 14, 18, 21, 22; xli. 9).

It is not impossible that other passages from the cuneiform inscriptions might be adduced in proof of the existence of a Babylonian god *El*, but those regarded as strongest by the advocates of this theory have been examined, and there is no reasonable doubt that any others might be easily explained in agreement with the conclusion of the foregoing discussion.

9. On the Bronze Crab Inscription of the New York Obelisk, by Prof. Isaac H. Hall, of Philadelphia, Pa.; presented by the Corresponding Secretary.

Those who were present at the New York meeting of the Society, just before the obelisk was set up in the Central Park, will remember that at the close of Prof. G. Seyffarth's communication about the obelisk, I asked if he had seen the bronze crab, and could give a correct reading of the inscription upon it; as I had noticed that the published copies differed from each other, and it was important to get at the true reading.

I may add that at about the same time, both before and after that meeting, I had written to several gentlemen who I thought possessed sufficient interest to have the matter looked into; but I did not succeed in awakening their attention.

On the 20th April last, I had my first opportunity to examine at leisure the crab and its inscriptions, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (where the crab now is) being closed, and the stand with the crab being wheeled out so that I could view it in any light I wished. I made careful copies and notes; and also brought away tin-foil impressions, and a double set of plaster casts of both inscriptions.

It turns out that *all* the published copies are wrong. The Greek, on the outer side of the thick part of the claw, is as follows:

Λ ΙΗ ΚΑΙΕΑΡ'Σ
ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ
ΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΟΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ
ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ

That is:

'In the year 18 of Cæsar
Barbarus set [it] up,
The architect being
Pontius.'

The inscription as published in W. R. Cooper's "A Short History of the Egyptian Obelisk," (London, Bagster, *n. d.*, first dedication and preface to 2d edition dated 1877), p. 48, is wrong in substituting an E for the L, and in omitting the I of the date. Cooper's authority was two-fold: "Dixon's letter in [London] 'Daily News,' July 18, 1877; and illustration in [London] 'Graphic,' July 7, 1877." Cooper also remarks: "The Latin text unfortunately differs in both." I believe that these two sources copied from a publication at Athens, or others in Alexandria, which I have not seen.

The L is the frequent inscription form of *lambda*, and stands for the old word for 'year,' whose nominative case is *λνκάβας*. To consider it as an E, for *ērei*, was an easy mistake. As to the omission of the I in the date, that was honest; as it is only a few weeks since the bronze was properly cleaned; and before this operation the I was wholly undiscernible. But it is now quite plain, and cut as deeply as any other letter.

In the first line the last two letters are indistinct; the O being smaller, and near the top of the line; and the Σ being barely legible.

In Lieut.-Commander H. H. Gorrings's "Egyptian Obelisks," Plate V., facing p. 6, also p. 55 and p. 76, the inscription is given without the mistake in the L (though a period placed after it seems to me doubtful); but, for the reason mentioned above, the I of the date is omitted. Also, the one word of the third line is wrongly separated into two: APXITEKTON OYNTOM, doubtless by an error of interpretation.

The Latin inscription, on the inner side of the claw, is difficult, and could never have been made out without the help of the Greek. It is not so well or so skillfully cut, it is much more damaged by time, and there are other reasons, presently to be mentioned, for trouble and confusion. The inscription as given by Cooper (*ubi supra*) and by Gorrings (*ubi supra*), omitting the punctuation (which may be only the printer's work, and which is not to be seen on the bronze), is as follows:

ANNO VIII
AVGVSTI CAESARIS
BARBARVS PRAEF
AEGYPTI POSVIT
ARCHITECTANTE PONTIO

This is wrong in several respects. The inscription contains only four lines; the CAESARIS is on the first line; *there is no trace whatever of the word AVGVSTI*; and the date was clearly XVIII, and not VIII simply. But it is obscure, and has to be restored from the fragmentary strokes of the letters. The word ANNO is also very obscure, and has to be likewise restored. But I will first restore the inscription as it was on the bronze, and then make what remarks I intend at present. The inscription was as follows:

ANNO XVIII CAESARIS
BARBARVS PRAEF
AEGYPTI POSVIT
ARCHITECTANTE PONTIO

That is:

'In the year 18 of Cæsar,
Barbarus Præfect
Of Egypt set [it] up,
Pontius being architect.'

(For "architect," in both inscriptions, I might have chosen a more technical English word; but it is as well to have it thus.)

It is plain, almost at the first glance, that a former inscription underlay the present one (a fact first discovered by Dr. W. C. Prime and Gen. di Cesnola); but I think it was only a mistake in cutting the inscription, and that it was made and corrected by the same engraver that made the present one. The marks of hammer and other tools, and perhaps of fire to soften, are quite plain in the former obliteration. The first line seems to have been made correctly; but I think that in making the second line the word CAESARIS was repeated, and the fault continued farther on in the line—at least. Before the B are traces of a CAE, apparently, and the lower curve in the same B is mostly part of a still legible S. The first R

in BARBARVS is illegible; and the second R overlies an E or an F. But I will not go into further particulars of that sort. As an evidence of the character of the engraver's knowledge, I will state that the P in AEGYPTI is made like a Greek Π, with the right leg short, as often seen in inscriptions, manuscripts, and early printed books. The T's in the last line extend high above the line, as represented in Cooper's copy; but the two last are formed on the last stroke of the N preceding. The F at the end of the second line (it is now impossible to say whether it was followed by VS) likewise extends high above its line.

Without the aid of the Greek, only CAESARIS could be read on the first line; BARBARVS could never have been made out; and the P in PRAEF likewise would have remained undecipherable. Also, in the next line, the I in AEGYPTI has a mistaken (or older) stroke which makes it a good D if one chooses so to read it. In short, it is impossible to account for the former published reading of the Latin inscription.

The matter of a supposed former inscription I forbear to go into further, as it would require more time than I now have at command. I have not noted all the peculiarities of the marks of such inscription; nor of the letters of either the Greek or the Latin inscription. Matters historical, also, I leave untouched, as I learn that Prof. Merriam of Columbia College has given the subject thorough study, and is preparing an article for publication which will render needless any further discussion on my part. I have only wished to give my independent testimony to the facts I have personally observed.

10. On certain Sounds in the Peking Pronunciation of Chinese, by Mr. B. S. Lyman, of Northampton, Mass.

Mr. Lyman gave his views upon a few points in Chinese pronunciation which are wont to be made unnecessarily troublesome and deterrent to a beginner in the language. He had practised them through a year at Yedo under an intelligent native of Peking, and afterward verified his conclusions with a well-educated Peking teacher at Shanghai.

The sound sometimes represented by *sz'* is not made up of a surd and sonant sibilant followed by a breathing, but is simply a surd *s* followed by the vowel-sound of our *e* in *mercy* (our long "neutral vowel" before *r*). The same vowel-sound occurs after many other consonants, and has been very variously represented: most appropriately, perhaps (by Williams), with the German *ö*.

The sounds *sh* and *ch* followed only by that vowel are pronounced with the tongue rolled up, as for an English *r*.

The initial sound of the word for 'man' (*jén*) is written by some with *j*, by others with *zh*; it is really a *y* made with the tongue rolled up as above.

The sound sometimes represented by *érh*, sometimes by *'rh*, contains the same vowel-sound, of *e* in *mercy*, with our *r* in *arm*—an *r* made rather far back in the mouth.

Wade distinguishes by *'h* before *a*, *é*, *o*, *u*, and *hs* before *i* and *ü*, what Williams writes with simple *h*. The latter is preferable, since the following vowel always determines the quality of the sound: in the former case, the German *ch* of *ach*; in the latter, that of *ich*, only made still further forward in the mouth, close behind the teeth. It is the same with the Yedo *h*, often mistaken by provincial Japanese and foreigners for the Japanese *sh*; it is the sound which gave Golownin such great difficulty. The English *h*-sound is heard in Peking Chinese only after *ch*, *k*, *p*, *t*, and *ts*, where its position sufficiently separates it from the other sounds written with *h*.

W is a short English *oo*, and *wu* has really no consonant element. In like manner, *y* is a short English *ee*, and *yi* is sounded exactly like *i*.

It has been sometimes held that Chinese words should not be called monosyllabic when they contain three separate vowel sounds; but these are short, and run together into a diphthong or triphthong, and there can be no valid objection to our viewing them as forming together one syllable.

Besides such combined short vowels, Peking Chinese has what some would call single long vowels: which, however, seem rather to be similarly coalescing repeated short vowels, the first pronounced on one pitch and the second on another, making an upward or downward slide, such as is made in successive

different vowels. An unpeated single short vowel is followed by *n* or *ng*, which enables the slide to be made audible. These slides, on two different keys, a higher and a lower, are the "tones," a much exaggerated bugbear to those who are to begin the study of the language.

11. Translation of two brief Buddhist Sūtras from the Tibetan, by Mr. W. W. Rockhill, now of Montreux, Switzerland; presented by the Corresponding Secretary.

The two Sūtras, of which I offer a translation from the Tibetan in the following pages, serve to show, in a certain measure, that Buddhist literature is in reality a comparatively meager one, if we take into consideration the immense collection devoted to it extant at the present time.

I might have taken a hundred other Sūtras in the Tibetan *Bkaḥ-hgyur* that would have equally well served my purpose; but these are especially commendable, because they are short. It must have struck every one who has read any number of Buddhist works how the same stereotyped phrases, the same similes, occur on every page, and that one Sūtra differs from another only by slight changes introduced into these stock phrases, and by a selection suited to the text of the sermon. Take the *Dhammapada*, the *Sutta Nipāta*, or the Tibetan *Udānavarga*, and you will find the substance of nearly every Sūtra in the canon; these works have probably been used as compendiums from which the long diffuse Sūtras like the *Lalitā Vistara*, or the *Prajñā Pāramitā*, have been derived; but turn to whichever work one will, one finds the same sentiments, the same old precepts, of the *Dhammapada* and other like works.

I do not claim that these works are in themselves among the oldest of Buddhist literature; on the contrary, they cannot have been composed until after the Dharma had been taught for a long while; but they certainly contain the best authenticated versions of the sayings of the Buddha Gautama.

The founder of Buddhism addressed himself to the masses of the people, to the learned and to the ignorant; and to all he taught, not an elaborate system, but a few irrefutable truths; in some cases, even, he enables a hopelessly stupid person to perceive the truth by the simple performance of some manual labor, or by the constant repetition of one word; but generally he teaches them to repeat a few lines which contain that portion of the doctrine best suited to their intelligence. Frequently the triviality of the simile struck their untutored minds, and in every case the verses were so short that it required but little application to commit them to memory.

"He who, though he can only recite a few lines (of the law), walks in the way of the law, and has forsaken passion, anger, and ignorance, he has a share in the priesthood" (*Udānavarga*, iv. 23; *Dhammapada*, 20).

It is these oft-repeated aphorisms that have served as the basis of the greater part of the Sūtras, which were set down in writing long after the death of the Buddha; and it is unquestionably a proof of the estimation in which they were held, to find them everywhere repeated, or so slightly altered that we cannot help detecting the source from which they are taken.

For these reasons, I think that wherever we see these aphorisms, we may take them as the utterances of the Buddha, with much greater probability than any other part of the works we may have before us. The two following Sūtras are therefore worth notice, for they are undoubtedly compilations. It is remarkable that, beside Sūtras like these, in which moral virtues are so highly exalted, we find passages like the following, taken from the *Brahmajāla* Sūtra: "Bhikshus, all those foolish beings who have not heard (the law), speaking in praise of the Tathāgata, only speak of trifles, such as morality (*śīla*), and of the removing of desires by seclusion" (*Bkaḥ-hgyur*, *Mdo* xxx. f. 110 b).

The explanation of this discrepancy seems to lie in the fact that morality, charity, good will, etc., were the foundation—indispensable, it is true—the preliminary steps, of him who would reach perfect enlightenment, who would become a Buddha. The omniscience of which the Buddha was possessed made the more humble virtues sink into insignificance—in the case mentioned in the *Brahmajāla*, at least.

Morality—that is to say, keeping the ten or the six commandments binding on

a mendicant or on a lay follower—was a virtue essential to all beings, and was a source of great future felicity; but this only required to be impressed upon the ignorant crowd; and to such were these sermons or “trifles” spoken.

I have endeavored to preserve, as much as possible, the style of the *gāthās* forming the latter part of the *Māṭribhāvana Sūtra*, which appears to me to have been something like a song.

This Sūtra gains especial interest from the fact that it is one of a rather numerous class of Sūtras which were translated into Tibetan directly from Pāli, as we are informed by the colophon, which says that “it was translated in the Mahāvihāra, in the island of Ceylon, by the great pandit Anandaṇḍi and the *bahusrutya lotsava*, the bhikshu of Ākya, Nī-ma-rgyal-mtsan dpal-bzang-po (*Sūryadhvaja ṛibhādra?*), who (both of them) understood the two languages (Pāli and Tibetan or Sanskrit).”

BIKSHU PRAREJU SŪTRA.

In the language of India, *Bhikshu prareju sūtra*; in the language of Bod (Tibet), *Dge-slong-la rab-tu gches-pai mdo* (the sūtra called ‘very agreeable to a bhikshu’).

Praise be to him who knows all!

I once heard the following discourse, while the Blessed One was residing in the Phullapadma vihāra in the great city of Ārāvastī, accompanied by a retinue of twelve hundred and fifty bhikshus.

Then it happened that from amidst the retinue of the Blessed One, the *ariya* called Upāli, whose senses were well controlled, who was attentive, whose wisdom was profound, who was particularly esteemed on account of the way in which he could recite the disciplinary rules that had been set forth by the Blessed One, rising up from his mat, throwing his cloak over one shoulder, touched the ground with his right knee with hands joined over his breast, and smilingly said to Bhagavat: “Thou who, like a lotus, art free from the mire of the world, thou who art unshaken as a mountain, whose mighty body is adorned with the ornaments of symmetry and beautified with the flowers of signs, thou whom one gazes at unwearingly, who art the best of the best, thee do I worship!

We who are here gathered together, all of us bhikshus, we beseech the Mighty One to tell us these four things: 1. the nature of a bhikshu; 2. the different kinds (of bhikshu); 3. what constitutes (this condition); 4. the deportment (of a bhikshu).”

Then the Conqueror, the Blessed One, well pleased, turned toward Upāli and said: “Give thou only ear, Upāli, and I will satisfy you by explaining what is becoming in bhikshus.

The real bhikshu, being the chief ornament of the Law, the real bhikshu is a living diamond.

The real bhikshu, having cast off suffering, the real bhikshu is the son of the Conqueror.

The real bhikshu, having destroyed all corruption, the real bhikshu goes to the garden of freedom.

The bhikshu controlling (or who controls) his whole nature, knowing the four fundamental (truths), and observing the two hundred and fifty (rules of the *Prātimoksha**), is pure and virtuous.

There are many kinds of bhikshus: the signs and characteristics of the real bhikshu, of him to whom that name only really applies, are these:

He who seeks for virtue (*dge-slong* = bhikshu), and who seeks for his food by begging, who is dispassionate, who walks in the way, whose life is correct, who has cast off passions, he, on account of these qualities, is a bhikshu.

The real bhikshu is adorned, for having cast away (worldly) ornaments, he is well adorned. He has attained his great desire when he has cast off desires.

The mendicant who cares about unguents, baths, choice food, jewels, (fine) garments, collyrs, horses, elephants, palanquins, wagons and carriages, for which he ought not to care, is not a (real) bhikshu.”

Then Upāli said to the Blessed One: “What the Sugata has said is obscure; I beseech the Sugata to illuminate with the light of his words the obscurity of his (previous) sayings.”

* There are 253 rules in the *Bhikshu Prātimoksha* and 373 in the *Bhikshuṇī P.* in the Tibetan version. The Chinese *Prātimoksha* has 250 rules.

Then the Blessed One said:

"He who has cast far away gold and all the other ornaments of the world, and who is merciful, he is adorned with the most precious of ornaments.

Not the garments of the world, but the garment of the doctrine, the saffron-colored gown, is the best of raiment.

It is not camphor and such like, but morality, that is the best of unguents.

It is not white, red, or such like, but faith, that is the most beautiful color.

It is not worldliness, but application, that is the best and swiftest conveyance.

Contemplation and the practice of the Law is the best food, and has a sweeter aroma than boiled rice.

They who in the abode of the community are dispassionate, who are content with a single mat, come not back again (to this world), they are truly bhikshus.

They who, weary of the three perfections * (*pradhāna*) and their accompaniment, become hermits, and (take up) cool dwelling places, their bodies, speech, and minds all well controlled, knowing the proper way to comport themselves, they are truly bhikshus.

Both of these (kinds of bhikshus) arrive at the city of freedom, where they enjoy the perfect happiness of freedom.†

He who scoffs at the alms-bowl and the other (possessions of a bhikshu), will be plunged in hell in molten bronze for four thousand *kalpas*.

To some morality (*śīla*) brings happiness, to others morality (i. e. the want of morality) is a source of suffering.

He who has morality has the greatest blessing. He who acts against morality is in misery.

He who has brought himself to perfectly observe morality, the appearance of that man is beautiful.

He has nearly conquered, I consider, the man who has learnt morality; for in a single day he acquires an incalculable amount of merit, which vies with the fruit of enlightenment (*bodhi*).

He who convinces himself that he understands the spirit of the Law (lit. the sign of victory) of the Sugata, when he is not keeping the precepts of the Law, that man is only devoted to form (*rūpa*);‡ that bhikshu I consider like a mad bull held by a hair, or like one who drinks acids rather than sweets. That man sows in a single day innumerable seeds of wickedness, and does himself all kinds of injuries.

He who keeps not the *śīla* precepts, who, though not keeping the precepts, (thinks) that he comprehends rightly the Law of the Sugata, who approves of the saying that one can hold on to form (*rūpa*) and to a home (life), that man, not keeping the precepts, perceives not the characteristics that mark all worldly (existence) as essentially connected with sorrow; so all the utterances of that man are evil.

The live trunk of a tree can send forth shoots for a long time; so that man will talk for a long time the language of sin, and will greatly add to his wicked works.§

Morality is the greatest happiness! Morality is the road to freedom! Morality is the field of perfection! Morality is the foundation of enlightenment! Morality is the chief of good things! Watch over morality as over the apple of your eye, for life is at stake! He who renounces it, unwise, foolish is he!

All things that are born have but a limited existence; but morality has no such future.||

Therefore, Upāli and all you other disciples, watch well over these laws."

When the Blessed One had thus spoken, Upāli and the bhikshus greatly extolled his teaching.

The sūtra called *Bhikshu prareju* is finished.¶

* *Ġtso-bo gsum*: this most likely means Buddha, Dharma, Sangha, but in a very restricted sense.

† They attain arhatship or *kṣeṇānīrvaṇa*.

‡ "If one has heard little, but does carefully observe the moral laws, he, because he honors the moral laws, is the best kind of hearer." *Udānavarga*, xxii.8.

§ Cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 338.

|| Or it may be rendered: "He who is born has a limited life, but he who observes the *śīla* precepts has no such future."

¶ Taken from the *Bkaḥ-hgyur*, xxvith vol. of the *Mdo*, f. 189, 192.

MĀITRĪBHĀVANA SŪTRA.

In the language of India, *Māitribhāvana sūtra*; in the language of Bod, *Dyams-pa bsgom-pai mdo* ('the sūtra on showing good will').

Glory to the blessed Triratna!

This discourse I once heard, while the Blessed One was stopping at Ārāvastī, at Jitāvana, in the grove of Anathapiṇḍika. It happened that the Blessed One called the Bhikshus to him; and when they were in the presence of the lord Bhagavat, he spoke to them as follows:

"To thoroughly emancipate the mind, one must show good will; to steadfastly keep it in one's thought, one must show it to many; one must be dispassionate, one must make it a fundamental law, one must strictly adhere to it; to this accustom yourselves, devote yourselves.

There are eleven blessings (attached to good will) which I will explain. They are as follows: one sleeps peacefully, one awakes peacefully, one has no bad dreams, men delight in him, supernatural beings delight in him, the gods protect him, fire or poison or the sword harm him not, his mind is always happy, his countenance is beaming, he will die with his mind at peace, through his righteous deeds he will be born in the world of Brahmā.

Bhikshus, steadfastly keep the thought of good will in your minds, practice it, show it to many, be dispassionate, make it your fundamental law, strictly adhere to it, to this accustom yourselves, devote yourselves. These then are the eleven blessings.

Bhikshus, I will tell you of yet other blessings that good will brings:

He lives with food and drink in plenty, Which he finds near at hand,
He lives in the midst of great abundance, The man who is not without good will.
Where'er he goes within the town, Be it in the city or in the royal palace,
Everywhere he meets with honor, The man who is not without good will.
To him thieves and robbers come not, To him the king does no harm,
He is a friend to all creation, The man who is not without good will.
Free from anger, he happily lives at home; To mankind there shines no such
pleasing vane,

But he is better than them all, The man who is not without good will.

He who shows honor, honor he will find, He who bows, to him shall others bow,
Glory and fame shall he find, The man who is not without good will.

He who is respectful, respect he shall find, Reverence comes to him who shows it,
He will have the bloom of health, The man who is not without good will.

He shines as does a blazing fire, His body like that of some (bright) god;

He will not lose his wealth, The man who is not without good will.

Great will be the herds, Great the grain in the field,

Many the sons and the daughters, Of the man who is not without good will.

Falls he from off the mountain-top, Or falls he from off a tree,

He drops not, but (gently) reaches the earth, The man who is not without good will.

The man who climbs a *phata* (? or *tala*) tree, Cannot be shaken by the wind,

So enemies cannot bring to harm. The man who is not without good will."

When the Blessed One had thus spoken, the Bhikshus greatly extolled his teaching.

The sūtra on showing good will is finished. (*Bkaḥ-hgyur*, *Mdo* xxx. f. 575, 576.)

After the completion of this paper, the Society, with the usual vote of thanks to the American Academy for the use of its room, adjourned, to meet again in New Haven in October.